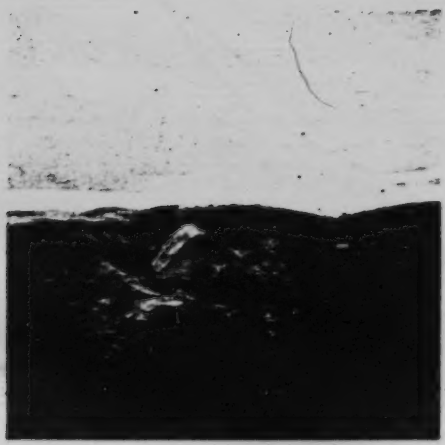
1:Vanhove--33A G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[opp. p. 40]

231

Type of cattle in Ruanda.

133



Vicinity of Kigali.
Crops covering the spurs of the hills and the valleys can be seen.

(Photo taken by Author)

4. Ownership of Heavy Cattle

422 231 a) Generalities.

[643] The Mwami is the owner of all the cattle in Ruanda or at least of all females kept for breeding purposes. The great chiefs (abatware) are charged by the king to watch over his cattle in the different provinces. Also, the sale of heifers cannot take place without his permission.

On the other hand, the holder of sterile cows or bulls may give away or slaughter these animals as he wishes.

[643] In a province the native who has acquired a cow for breeding purposes has usufruct and has no redress if the Mwami takes away the animal he has bought along with its young. The umutware w'umukenke (2) can oppose the removal of cattle from the province.

2. Cf. Government and Administration, Political Division, p. 85.

422 622 628 Any native who settles in another province must abandon his cattle [46] unless he has the chief's permission to take it with him. When a native leaves his province, leaving his cattle behind, to settle in another, his new chief usually gives him a herd of the same size as the one he has lost. If he escapes from his district carrying off his cattle surreptitiously, his former chief claims the herd. In the past if he was refused he would endeavor to capture a herd of equal value belonging to the deserter's new chief, and an armed clash would invariably result from such a dispute. Today the dispute must be submitted to the Mwami. He eventually orders the new chief to return the cattle, and if the latter is unwilling to do so, he may take from him one or more herds.

Before the European occupation a dissatisfied chief could take all or part of his cattle without previous permission from the Mwami. In this case the chief was "Mwami of his umugaragu."

422 231 The cowherds (abashumba) in the service of the cattle holders are authorized to keep for themselves part of the milk from the animals entrusted to them. They can be discharged in case of negligence.

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192

b) Classification of Cattle According to Color

Amanya, blue-grey
Ibihogo, dark brown
Ibihogo bitose, darker brown
Igaju, light brown
Igaju ly'intukura, yellow-brown

Igisa, café au lait [coffee-colored]
Igitare, white
Ikibamba, black with large white spots
[47]
Ikibayi, grey-brown
Ikijugu, light grey
Isine, white with small brown spots
Itshyasha, with a white spot on its forehead
Ubugondo bw'izagiriza, white with small brown spots
Umukara, black
Umusengo, brown with small white spots
Urwirungu rwumugoroba, black and white
Urwirungu rw'amarwa, pinkish tan

c) Classification of Cattle According to Age

1. MALE CATTLE

Umutavo, newborn
Ingimbuke, a fortnight old
Umushishe, a month old
Incharwatsi, that eats grass for the first time
Umukulira, that goes to pasture for the first time

Inchuke, weaned

Ikimasa ly'umukangara, a little larger than the inchuke
Karasiga inkivyondo, good for paying a fine
Igitobyi, ready to breed
Imfisi umutore, that has bred once
Ubukombe, adult bull
Umutaza, old bull

2. FEMALE CATTLE

Up to being weaned, same name as male cattle
Ishashi ikata, pregnant heifer
Iliza, first calf
Impete, second calf
Impetule, third calf
Ijigija, fourth calf
Ibuguma, cow that still calves but whose calf is too weak and dies
Inshura, old cow that no longer calves

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c) Classification by age (cont'd)

2. FEMALE CATTLE

Isave, cow sterile from birth (thin)
Urubeheri, cow sterile from birth (fat)

d) Classification of Cattle According to Horns

Igaritse, with large spreading horns
Impotore, with horns whose points are slightly twisted
Ingarure, with twisted horns whose points go forward
Inkungu, without horns
[48]
Intenderi, with horns whose points point toward the ground
Inkungu y'indegeri, with small mobile horns
Ikubis'ihembe, with one vertical and one horizontal horn
Itigey'inyuma, with horns whose points point backwards
Itez'akamosd, with crossed horns
Urubindo, with horns whose points point towards the ears
Itegey'ijuru, with large almost vertical horns

e) Classification of Cattle According to Common Law

422 231 [622] [192] IMBATA. Head of cattle received as dowry, as a present, or bought in the market, and whose owner is the true proprietor. But if, in putting himself under the patronage of the hill or provincial chief (1) he receives from either of them one or several cows called

1. See further on, Obligations and Contracts, p. 63.

inkazibiti or ingabane, according to whether he is a Muhutu or a Mututsi, all the imbata cows can be taken away from him with the others, should he lose his status as a client, by an arbitrary decision of his patron.

422 231 427 If a Muhutu receives from a Mututsi some heads of cattle in virtue of the contract called ubugaragu (lease of livestock) (1),

1. See further on, Obligations and

Contracts, p.63.

231 422 427 and if after a few years by selling the young bulls, the skins, the horns, the milk, and the butter, he has made enough money to buy a head of cattle, the latter is not an imbata, but an impahano (2).

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 43.

422 583 192 231 If a Muhutu, the umugaragu of a Mututsi, marries his daughter and receives a milch cow as dowry, the latter is not an imbata, but an inkwano, and the shebuja of the son-in-law can take it back. In effect, it is the social position of the Muhutu which entitled him to collect a dowry in cattle. If he had not been a client of a Mututsi, he would have received as dowry only hoes or goats. [49]

231 422 192 INTUNDANO. (1) Cow bought in the market with the salary

1. From kutunda, "to do business."

earned at the mines in exchange for goats or baskets of beans. It is an imbata.

INDUNDU. Cow acquired in immediate full ownership without the condition that the buyer should later make an additional payment. Indundu is opposed to ingwate (2).

2. See further on, p. 46.

[431] INKAZIBITI. Cows given without fee by the patron to a client who has paid homage (guhakwa). To take possession of cows promised by the shebuja is called kujya ku ilembo (lit., to cross the threshold of the rugo). The first cow received under these conditions is called inka y'igiti (3); the second, impetano; the others

3. Literally, "cow of the tree trunk."

do not have a special name. A father can also give some inkazibiti to his wives and sons.

231 422 192 431 INGABANE. When a Mututsi who has paid homage to the Mwami receives from him a hill with cattle and abagaragu, the said cattle is called ingabane (4). A herd of ingabane consists of at

4. From kugabana, "to receive."

least 30 heads of cattle, cows, calves, heifers, and young bulls.

A simple Mututsi with no political authority may receive some ingabane and some inkazibiti. But the favor of the Mwami makes him considered an important person. He is the Mwami's umugaragu.

The Bahutu usually receive only inkazibiti.

INDEMANO. (5). a) Cows of the same color and age, given

5. From kulema, "to create," "to form," "to assemble."

by a father to his son when the latter is about to get married. The whole of the indemano is called iminani.

[50]

b) By a patron to a client of whom he is fond and who is going to get married.

c) By a husband to his wife.

The indemano are also ingabane.

After these various distributions, the cattle remaining to the master make up the ingarigari (reserved cows).

422 231 192 INGARIGARI. Cows which the master keeps for his own pleasure and personal use without giving any to his wives, sons, or friends, or without leasing them out to any abagaragu.

425 231 192 INKUKE (1). a) A son, who has received from his father

1. From gukura, "to take away," "to remove."

indemano, returns a milch cow (inkuke) to his father which has been taken from among the indemano. When it no longer gives any milk the father sends it back to his son.

425 b) A Mututsi umugaragu is obliged to send the Mwami an inkuke
192 from among the ingabane he has received. When the cow no longer
231 gives milk, the client must bring other animals.

c) An umugaragu can receive some indemano from his patron. Usually these are old cows or bull calves which he then exchanges for heifers. When they are full grown, he gives one or several of these inkuke to his patron.

d) An umugaragu of the Mwami must occasionally send him a milch cow from among the ingabane he has received.

INDWANYI. Full-grown bull given annually to the Mwami by each provincial chief, for sacrifice to the spirits of the departed or slaughtered for the use of the king, his Batwa, or his foreign guests: Bahima, Barundi, Baganda, etc.

[51]

IBINIHA. Sterile cow given under the same conditions and meant for the same use.

[787] INTORWA. Bull calves or young rams to be used for consulting the auguries or for the cult of ancestors.

YO KUBIKA. Cow brought to the Mwami by the successor of a provincial chief who comes to announce the death of his father.

IY'UBUNTU (1). Cow given as a present. It belongs in full

1. From ubuntu, "generosity." Ineza, "good will," is also said.

ownership to the one who receives it, who is held under no obligation to the donor. Ubuntu cows are not ingabane; they are imbata when they are placed among the imbata that are already in the rugo, and keep the name of inka y'ubunta, without possessing any of its privileges, in all other cases [sic].

INYITURANO. Cow given in return by the one who has received an ubuntu. When a man who has bestowed ubuntu on certain of his friends dies, his children can claim an inyiturano cow from each of them.

IMPAHANO (2). Cows bought under the same conditions as

2. From guhaha, "to fetch, to procure."

the intundano and received as a gift or dowry. They have the same character, but if their owner attaches himself to a patron they become ipso facto cows of an umugaragu.

425 INYARULEMBO. Cows which continue to belong to a
231 Mututsi shepherd, but which may be at the home of one of his wives
192 or of an umugaragu. They remain near the master's dwelling, for they are to provide the milk needed for him and his family. Indemano given by a [52] cattle owner are called inyarulembo. Cows bought by a Mututsi umugaragu (intundano) are also called inyarulembo. On the other hand, those acquired by a Mututsi who has entered into a clientele contract become ingabane.

583 INKWANO. Milch cow given or received as dowry for the
231 marriage of a daughter or sister. It becomes imbata.
192

INDONGORANYO (1). Head of cattle given to the young couple by the wife's parents, and sometimes by the husband's parents. Among the chiefs, the indongoranyo is given immediately after the marriage as a sign of friendship. Among the other Batutsi, the indongoranyo is given to the young woman by her father when she visits her parents after the birth of her first child.

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1. From kurongoranya, "to help set up housekeeping."

IY'URUGORI (2). Milch cow or heifer which a young mother receives from her father or her father-in-law, unless she has already had an indongoranyo bestowed on her. If the marriage is broken, the urugori is not claimed from the wife's family.

[301]

2. From the name of the sorghum-straw band worn by Banyarwanda mothers on their heads.

[60] IY'ICHYARI. The daughter-in-law is not allowed to see her father-in-law during the first days of marriage. When he lifts the interdiction, the father-in-law can give an ichyari to the young couple. Among the Bahutu, a sheep or a goat is given instead of a cow.

431 IY'IGISAGE. Cow given by a father to his son when the
192 latter reaches the age of six or seven years old. At that moment,
231 the hairdress he has worn until then (igisage) is changed to one called
302 amasunzu (3). The Muhutu child receives at the same age two or three banana trees.

3. Hair dressed in the shape of a coxcomb or a crescent.

000 three banana trees.

192 764 231 [53] INKAMWA. When the father of a family dies, one of his sons or grandsons is chosen to put between his hands a jug of milk. The cow that has given this milk is called inkamwa. It is given to the one who has placed the jug of milk between the hands of the deceased and is not included in the division of the inheritance.

This cow cannot be sold or killed. Its young are not subject to this interdiction. If it dies, it is eaten by the Bahutu in the owner's rugo, and its bones are buried there.

Among the Bahutu a sheep is used as the inkamwa.

IY'UMUGANGU. When the father of a family dies, the eldest son slaughters a bull calf, which is eaten by the family. The skin is worn by the eldest son for two months so that the cows will not die like their master.

192 231 731 IY'UMULIRO and INSHUMBUSHANYO. 1) If lightning has destroyed the herd (or even one animal) held by the umugaragu, the latter can obtain from his shebuja the umuliro (lit., the fire cow), either a cow or a bull calf.

When several cows are given by the patron to indemnify his client, the first one is called umuliro, the others inshumbushanyo.

425 231 2) If the patron deprives his client of his whole herd to punish him for not performing one of his obligations, the umugaragu begs the protection of another shebuja who gives his new dependent a cow and a bull calf or only a bull calf.

192 731 231 IMPONOKE. When the herd of the patron, the provincial chief, or the king is decimated by cattle plague (muryamo), the abagaragu give some cows to fill the gaps caused by the epizootic disease.

192 231 766 [54] INDORANO (1). At the death of the king's child, wife, brother, and also in the case of death in a great chief's family, the provincial chiefs and the hill chiefs, if they are directly subject to the Mwami, each bring two cows to the Mwami, and only one in the other event. A cow is also given by the abagaragu. The cow given to a friend on the occasion of deep mourning is also called indorano.

1. From kurora, "to see."

192 231 431 IMPONGANO. A cow given to appease the anger of the king or one of the provincial chiefs.

2) A cow given to a friend of the Mwami to thank him for his intervention with the king.

IZIMANO. The first time a great provincial chief goes to visit another, the host gives his guest a milch cow.

Similarly, if the king or a provincial chief visits one of their abagaragu, he is given a calf.

INJISHYWA. A cow that accompanies a noble Mututsi when he visits a provincial chief or the Mwami on business or to pay homage. It is meant to provide him with the milk necessary for food.

427 192 231 INDAGIZO. (2). A cow which the depositor (uwaragije) entrusts

2. From kulagiza, "to give on trust in order to pasture."

to someone who owns a better pasture than his, but the trustee (uwaragiywe) does not become umugaragu. The latter must return the cow when it has calved, but he has the right to the milk for two months if the cow is young, and for a fortnight if it is not. If the calf dies, the trustee has the right to the milk one day out of four.

[55]

231 192 INTAHIRA (1). This is the best of the cows held by an umugaragu.

1. From gutahira, "to come in front," "to precede," "to lead."

He always makes it walk at the head of the herd. The holder can take its milk (intagemura, lit., to keep the milk for one's self), but the calves must return to the owner.

192 231 437 INGWATE. Primus, who owns a bull calf (inguzwa) or a sterile cow (also inguzwa), asks Secundus, who has a heifer (ingwate), if he is willing to exchange on the following conditions:

a) If the heifer has a female calf (umukangara), Primus will keep it and its mother for a length of time to be agreed upon, usually two years. Secundus will then take back the cow and its calf and in addition will keep the inguzwa.

192 437 231 b) If the heifer has a male calf, Secundus takes it at once and Primus keeps the mother for two years. The milk is divided between the two contracting parties as follows: Secundus has the right to the milk for four days, Primus for two days, and the shepherd one day a week.

c) If the heifer dies before having a calf, Primus takes the skin and Secundus keeps the inguzwa. To avoid leaving the heifer with Primus for two years, Secundus gives the other contracting party a pregnant cow (ingenzura) and takes back the ingwate and its young (female or male calf). There are then two possibilities:

a) The ingenzura bears a female calf; Primus claims it.

1) Secundus accepts and takes back the ingenzura.

2) Secundus refuses. Primus keeps the ingenzura and its calf, and does not give any of the milk until another cow is given him. [56]

b) The ingenzura gives birth to a male calf.

1) Secundus agrees to give Primus an umukangara and takes back the cow and its calf.

2) Secundus refuses. Primus keeps the ingenzura and its calf. He will return the calf only after it is weaned. He waits for the cow to have a female calf.

IGICHANIRO (1). Primus who wishes to have a bull calf gives

1. The igichaniro is, strictly speaking, the fire lit in the kraal to protect the cows from the cold.

all his cows as a pledge (kugwatiriza) to Secundus, yet keeps them at his home. After two years, Primus gives a female calf to Secundus. If he refuses, Secundus would have the right to take a milch cow (gukubitira).

If the contract concerns goats, the fact that Secundus pays himself if Primus refuses is called gufatira.

192 431 231 INDABUKIRANO (2). 1) At the accession of the king, his abagaragu

2. From kurabukira, "to offer an accession gift to the king."

and all the provincial chiefs must each give one or two cows in homage to the king.

2) When an umutware w'intebe, an ichibiri, or an igisonga (3)

3. Cf. Government and Administration, Political Divisions, p. 85.

192 is appointed, the owners of several heads of cattle must present him with
431 a cow. The abagaragu can, but are not obliged to, do likewise.
231 3) When the king or an umutware dismisses or despoils a chief, the abagaragu of the new chief can also each give him an indabukirano. The Bahutu give goats, sheep, and hoes. [57]

192 INTORE. 1) Like the king, certain great chiefs possess a corps of
231 intore (dancing pages) (1) (2). A rich Mututsi's child who goes to a
635

1. From gutora, "to take," or gutorana, "to levy," "to choose."

2. Cf. Government and Administration, The Intore, p. 78.

provincial chief to become a page brings him a y'intore cow, which is given to the umutware y'intore (commander of the pages), who thus becomes in a way the shebuja of the child's father. The latter however is not held by any bond like an ordinary client.

192 2) Also called intore are the cows given compulsorily by the
231 abagaragu to a noble Mututsi who succeeds his father as head of the
651 family.

3) Tax paid in cows.

192 INGORORANO (3). Cow given to reward a warrior for his courage
231
431

3. From kugurorera, "to gratify."

or for a service rendered. Whoever has cared well for the master's cows (inyarulembo) or ingarigari) or who has cultivated his fields well may receive a cow. To reward the umutware w'intore for his instruction, the father of a page also gives an ingororano.

192 UMUHETO. A cow taken with a bow and arrow (umuheto). This
231 used to be war booty. In the past this name was also given to the tax paid
727 by warriors.
651

192 IMIGOGORO (4). A cow sent every day to the white people to
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574

4. From mogogoro, "fatigue," "annoyance," "imposition." Before the Belgian occupation these cows were called imbyukuruke (lit., parade).

192 234 574 supply them with milk. In Kinyaga (Shangugu) and in Bugoyi, it is called umuheto. In Ndorwa it is called kibere. [58]

IMBYUKURUKE. A choice cow destined to be shown to a visiting high personage and to provide him with milk during his stay.

192 431 231 IBIHEMBO. Gift of cows to the wife of the king, a great chief, or a patron when she has a child.

The gift made by the Bahutu consisting simply of milk or beer is called y'ibihembo.

192 231 426 INTIZO (1). 1) A man who has been despoiled by his chief re-

1. From gutiza, "to lend."

ceives a cow from a friend as a loan (intizo) until justice is done. The friend may perhaps only give him milk (intizo), because by sending a cow he would ostensibly show his friendship and would thus risk incurring the wrath of the chief.

192 231 2) A cattle owner must give at least one milch cow to his cowherd (umushumba) who does not have time to cultivate for himself.

3) A Muhutu who cultivates the fields of a Mututsi receives [465] milk (intizo) from him morning and evening.

4) A cow is given to two farmers who share the milk and the payments required in exchange (2).

2. Milking a cow is equal to the salary for one day of cultivation.

[681] [431] IMPONGANO. A cow given in reparation for an offense or as a present to the one (inshuti) whose intervention may help to win the lawsuit.

INGURANO. A redemption cow given by a patron or the head of a [696] family to keep the guilty one from being condemned. [59]

192 437 231 INKUNGURANYO (1). Primus, owner of a heifer approaches

1. From gukunguranya, "to exchange two cows of equal value definitely and irrevocably."

Secundus to ask him to exchange the cow for a female calf or for two bulls. They must not give anything in addition in order to have an absolute right over the exchanged object, but neither of them has the right to take back the exchanged value.

5. Small Domestic Animals

422
●231 The Mwami has a rather theoretical right of ownership of small livestock which are considered valueless by the large stockbreeders.

Consequently, the Bahutu can sell or keep for their own consumption goats and sheep.

[235] Poultry also belongs to the Bahutu who are required to provide, without remuneration, the chicks needed for divinatory sacrifices. Hens and eggs are not eaten by natives and therefore, except in the neighborhood of European posts, have no commercial value.

Small livestock as well as poultry are the exclusive property of men.

[224] The Banyarwanda are very fond of their hunting dogs. The Batutsi will pay as much as one or two cows for a dog that is known for its hunting qualities.

6. Other Personal Property and Real Estate

423 Among the Batutsi, the husband and each of his wives live in their individual rugo, but all these dwellings belong to the husband. In the same way, among the Bahutu, the hut and its annexes belong to the husband.

422 Work tools belong to the husband. The wife and children may not lend them without his permission, except for a short time.

[60] Household utensils given the wife by her husband remain his property. But the ibirongoranywa (1), that is to say,

1. Cf. note 1, p. 44.

the objects, utensils, and clothing, given by the father to his daughter at the time of her marriage, often equal to the value of several cows, or even consisting of cows, belong to the wife. She may dispose of them as she chooses, except in the case of cows.

1:Vanhove--70C G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[Between pp. 82 and 83]

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291

Mututsi prince.

Mutwa in a pantomime scene.

231

Inyambo, accompanied by their guardians, grazing in a Buganza pasture.

The parade of the Inyambo, A Muhutu praising the qualities of the sacred cattle he is guarding.

(All photos taken by Author)

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787 according to their answers indicate the decision to be made.

[90] 6. The Intore

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861 The Mwami's prestige requires him to have a group of intore who constitute a corps of pages. Their creation goes back to Mwami Ruganzu. They were then called the "intrepid ones" (1). The intore

1. Ibisumizi, from gusumira, "to carry off by force."

are the sons of the intebe and abachibiri chiefs as well as of the Mwami's abagaragu. A father who did not send his child to the king's Court to become an intore would imply that he did not love the Mwami and would regret it. Usually when they are igimbi (about ten years old) the young boys are brought to Nyanza where they remain until they are men. They learn to fight, jump, and dance. At the same time they get their political education, learning the legendary traditions and customs of the country as well as the rules of courtesy. The intore camp on a hill not far from the Mwami's residence and meet morning and evening for their exercises.

644
292 At festival time, the intore wear a special garment. Their loins are girt with a leopardskin (inkindi), and they wear round their heads a band (umugara) decorated with inkomo fur (black, white-collared monkey called Colobus) which is held by imiroto going down their cheeks. They wear a necklace (igitako) round their necks and
[535] others as shoulder belts (inzibanye). They dance holding a bow (umuheto) in one hand and a spear (ichumu) in the other; small iron bells are attached to their ankles.

7. The Inyambo

●231 Ruanda can be called Igihugu chy'inka n'ingoma (the country of the cow and the royal drum). Horned cattle, the principal wealth of the Batutsi, is cared for with a love approaching veneration.

231/173 [91] Legendary tradition attributes to Nyiraruchyaba, daughter of Gihanga, the introduction of cattle into Ruanda. One day when she went to cut wood, she noticed whitish patches on the ground. Being very thirsty and not finding any water nearby, she took her drinking-straw and drank the white liquid. Finding this drink delicious, she wished to know whence it came. She went into the forest and came upon a horned animal that was losing through its udder a liquid identical to that she had just drunk. In the meantime as Gihanga had fallen seriously ill, she brought him some of the white liquid. The patient drank it and recovered quickly. He asked his daughter where the medicine had come from and she brought him the animal. The cow was called ingizi (from kugira neza, to heal well). Since that time the Banyarwanda have had a great veneration for horned cattle.

232 Along with ordinary cattle (inkuku) the Mwami owns herds of scrupulously selected cows which, without being precisely the object of a cult as in ancient Egypt, are treated with particular care and are in the foreground at all festivals. These are the Inyambo (1).

1. The word Inyambo designates an animal, a herd, or all the herds together.

The origin of the Inyambo goes back to the Mwami Yuhi Mazimpaka. This king chose fine long-legged cows with long horns and a shiny dark brown coat (ibihogo) and mated them with a young and vigorous bull. The selected herd was kept apart in the province of Rukoma near the Nyabarongo River. These cows multiplied and from them the best ones continually selected. Under the preceding Mwami, Yuhi Musinga, the Inyambo were divided into two herds, one called agakanda and the other indoha. Musinga [92] added a third and called them respectively Inyuba hilo (the ones to be respected) or herd of Gihanga; Inshya (the new ones) or herd of Kigeri Ndabarasa which contained a remarkable bull called Rushya; and finally Ingabe (the dominating ones) or herd of Kigeri Rwabugiri.

The three herds combined were called Insanga. At the full moon in June they were led in procession to the Mwami amidst dancing and joyful cries (gukura gichurasi, lit., to carry off the month of May) (1).

821 1. The month of May, during which according to tradition Mwami Gihanga died.

232 the best are kept for reproduction, but the others are sold, killed, or placed in ordinary herds. The meat of slaughtered bulls and that of dead cows is eaten or sold by the guardians.

Castration does not exist; it is even forbidden by customary law.

527 231 The Inyambo are led to the Mwami at festival time and at public rejoicings. They are escorted by the Mututsi, with whom they are boarded, and by [94] their guardians. For the occasion, the finest animal (inyamibwa) wears on its forehead an ornament of beads (amaraba), at the base of each of its horns three strings of beads (amashyongoshyo), and on the tips, tufts of banana fiber (amakamba); a strap covered with black and red beads goes round its neck; finally tufts of palm fiber called ubuhivu are fastened to the end of its tail. Six cows wear an ornament of white beads (inigi) between their horns and necks. Two others have two inigi and a bead collar longer than the inigi called imiheja. Finally the rest of the Inyambo simply have a tuft of fibers on their tails.

When they arrive at Nyanza, the Inyambo file before the Mwami while their escorts utter joyful cries (urwamu), wave sticks (guchyar'inka, lit., to make the cattle go in), and praise the good qualities of the Inyambo. Then they line the Inyambo up (kumulika Inyambo, lit., to show off the Inyambo) and renew their praises.

The intore pages then group themselves and dance in front of the herd (kwinikiza). The festival ends with libations of banana beer offered by the Mwami to all who have participated in the presentation of the Inyambo. If the Mwami is satisfied with the treatment of the Inyambo, he gives some ingororano to the chief of the province in which the herd is living and also to the chief's people.

8. Death of the King

643 763 When the Mwami feels his end is approaching, he calls to his side his stewards (abanyagikari), notables (abatoni) of whom he is particularly fond, and some guardians of the customs (abiru). He tells them his last wishes and reminds them of the name of the successor he has chosen. [95]

252 The winnowing of the grain and disposal of the spelt [sic] is
243 usually done by men by means of large, very flat baskets or
[415] "riddles." Finally, the flour is spread out on these same flat baskets after the woman has made it by grinding the grain on a millstone (uruschjo), one of which also lies in front of each hut. All this is done very much in the same manner as in Ruanda and among the other peoples of the interlacustrine region (No. 19, pp. 371-372, 451-452).

264 Most Batussi have only one hot meal a day, and they eat it in the evening. The Bahutu, however, have two: the first meal around noon, the second in the evening between seven and eight o'clock. The Batwa do not seem to be bound to any particular mealtime. When the Batussi and Bahutu feel hungry in the meantime, especially in the morning, they eat cold food, like cooked sweet potatoes, manioc, roasted corn, peanuts, etc. Milk is drunk either fresh or sour; the Batussi are par-
272 ticularly fond of whisked sour milk. In order always to have
484 fresh milk when traveling, prosperous Batussi take several milch cows and the necessary personnel along on their trip. Meat is
[252] mostly roasted on the spit or dried by smoking or in the sun.
262 Yet meat is seldom enjoyed, for the Batussi of Urundi, like those of all the other Bahima states, eat only beef, and they do this only when the animals are sterile or too old to breed, or when an animal is killed to be sacrificed (cf. pp. 103, 136). The Bahutu get beef [26] only when the Batussi who own the cattle give them some. As for meat from the goats or sheep they have allotted to them, this they eat only when an animal is slaughered for its hide which is used for making clothes. More meat is allotted to the Batwa who serve as guards, policemen, musicians, etc., at the "courts" of their Batussi rulers.
231 One will find relatively few goats and sheep in Urundi, although enormous herds existed in former times. They have disappeared to a large extent as a result of the exploitative economy practiced by the traveling merchants since 1906. Chickens and eggs
262 are not eaten either and are used only for sacrificial purposes or for prophecy (see p. 47). Since hunting also seldom provides

224 mountains, and in the Ruzizi lowlands. The hippopotamus, however, is still rather frequent; it finds food and shelter in all the sizable rivers and swamps. There are leopards everywhere but most of all in northeast Urundi.

It is seldom that the Murundi hunts (kuhiga) alone with his weapon. At times chiefs arrange hunting drives with from 10 to 20 persons; these, however, are more a sport than hunting and have only the single practical purpose of obtaining antelope hides for the war dress mentioned above and horns for trumpets and amulets. The Batussi and Bahutu do not eat the [224] meat of the hunted animals since they consider it impure; they give it to the Batwa or to the dogs who play an essential part in each drive. The dogs can hardly be called hunting dogs as we [231] understand the term (see p. 48), for they do nothing but rouse and pursue the game. They are the common Murundi dogs with pointed ears. Old King Kisabo had a real pack of hounds for hunting. The dogs wear a leather collar with an iron bell or rattle whose clanging and rattling scares the game, and they are kept on the leash until the hunters have taken their stand in a wide semicircle around the area where the game is suspected to be. The dogs are then released into the thicket. They soon scare the game with the rattling of their bells and finally hold it at bay by concerted attack so the hunters may approach and kill the animal with arrows or spears (No. 19, p. 100).

That the Forest Batwa, who earn their livelihood mainly by hunting, are much better hunters hardly requires explanation; in most cases they hunt in pairs. Above all elephant hunting in the forests of the northwestern peripheral mountains is their exclusive specialty. For this purpose and also for killing other big game, such as the hippopotamus, they use deep pits (itschjobo) which are dug on the paths where game usually pass. Sharp-pointed poles are placed in an upright position [37] at the bottom of the pits whose steep walls are up to eight meters high; these poles are supposed to injure or kill the animal falling into the pit. The hole is carefully covered with branches and leaves. An animal which has fallen into the pit and is still alive is killed with spears. The natives build very solid traps to catch

222
252
[262] In connection with the use of wild fauna for nourishment, we also must mention the catching or collecting of locusts and termites. It is very popular among the Bahutu and Batwa. Locusts are caught in great numbers when large swarms move across the land. They are killed by squeezing in the thorax, and they are then fried in fat. Termites are caught by removing the top of smaller termite hills to ground level. The termites appearing from the opened holes and chambers are then collected in a pot and thrown alive into boiling fat. Especially in the steppes of eastern Urundi I often noticed along the path the uncovered, tube-shaped termite tunnels, as broad as a hand and going far into the ground, which had been emptied by the Bahutu. Usually the hill is then closed once more by the surviving termites, covered with new earth hills, and is soon populated again.

222 The use of wild bees (urujuki) for obtaining honey forms the transitional stage from the exploitation of the animal world by hunting to the keeping of domesticated animals. In this case, too, the original technique was to discover beehives in the wilderness and extract their honeycombs. Occasionally the
● 231 Batwa still follow this custom, whereas the Bahutu, like the other East African Negroes, have long since succeeded in making the wild bees serve human needs by suspending beehives in blossoming trees of the steppe and forest. [40] Apiculture is most widespread in the outer provinces of Ujogoma and Usige which still contain most of the forest and tree steppe. For the Barundi
[263] honey is of the greatest importance since they do not have any other sweetening. They use it, above all, for making honey
[273] beer (see p. 61) and add it to various dishes.

The beehives (umusingo) are shaped like short, thick tubes about one and a half meters in length and half a meter in diameter, and they are made either from a hollowed-out tree trunk or, in areas where there are only a few trees, from papyrus and sorghum stalks tied or twisted together (Plate 25b). The two openings of the tube are closed by discs made of wood or of plaited straw with a hole for the bees to fly out. There is also a little flight board in front of the hole. As soon as a new swarm

231 flies out with its queen, it is sprinkled with dust and water so it will not fly afield or will drop to the ground. The swarm of bees with its queen is then carefully swept into the tubes which are brought to it, the opening is closed, and the hive is suspended from a tree or a pole. The small entrance hole to the hive is then opened. All hives are suspended in a horizontal position. Of course, the whole procedure is usually not over before a few bee stings have been received, but the "bee-keepers" know quite well how to protect themselves by covering the whole body with barkcloth.

Gathering honey from the beehives later is a much simpler procedure. At night, when the bees are not flying, the back of the hive is opened, and a glowing wisp of straw which is smoking strongly is introduced, causing the bees to crowd together in the opposite corner. The honeycombs are cut out and then preserved in a pot (No. 19, p. 3). There are many different uses for the wax in the Barundi household. Since a demand for it has
439 developed in the markets, bee keeping has noticeably increased in the border regions accessible to trade. Undoubtedly it can and will find an even greater expansion once the country has been opened up to trade and there are more possibilities for marketing it. Even today wax and cattle hides are the most important trade products of Urundi.

2. Stock Farming

We often read that the economic life of the Barundi centers
231 around stock farming. This is not correct. The Barundi are,
563 first of all, agriculturists, like all Bantu Negroes, but stock farming is the chief occupation of the Hamitic ruling class, the Batussi, and it is only through their influence and in their service that many Bahutu are occupied in keeping and caring for livestock. By "livestock" we mean large domesticated animals, cattle (inka), for the Batussi hardly occupy themselves with smaller animals, goats and sheep. These latter animals had long been an element in the economy of the Bantu Negroes, that is, the Bahutu in this case, before the Batussi entered the country, and even today they are kept mainly by the Bahutu for their own consumption.

231 consumption. Their number, however, is relatively small.

In Ruanda the cattle all belong to the breed of the long-horned Bahima cattle which the Batussi brought with them on their treks southwest from their original homes in the northeast. The geographical distribution of these cattle is exactly identical with that of the Bahima (see p. 158 [not translated]). These are cattle of medium size with straight backs and with only a small hump of fat or none at all. To the thick-set head are attached two huge horns, up to more than one and a half meters long and extending in the form of a lyre in most cases. Their base is often enormously thick [41] (Plate 23). The largest horns may be found among sterile cows. Prof. Joh. Neumann-Hamburg has described those which I brought with me: "Der Schädel des Batussirindes" [The Head of the Batussi Cattle] in the Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1913 [Reports from the German Protectorates, 1913], Supplementary Volume 6, p. 113 ff. Apart from this, a characteristic trait of Bahima cattle is a large dewlap.

Bahima cattle most resemble the so-called Sanga cattle of Abyssinia, particularly that strain found in the area from southern Abyssinia to the lands of the Galla. The long-horned cattle of the old Egyptians belong to the same type, so do those of the Fulbe [Fulani] in the Sudan, in Bornu, in the Cameroons etc., among the tribes of the middle Zambesi to the Cape Colony, among the Hottentots in Damara and Ovamboland, in southern Angola, in other words, as far as the Hamites have traveled on their migrations (No. 17, Vol. II, p. 620 ff.; Nachtigal, Sahara, and the Sudan, Vol. I, p. 682; Thorbecke, Im Hochland von Mittel-Kamerun [In the Mountains of the Central Cameroon], Part 1, 1914, p. 70, showing a good photograph of a long-horned bull). As to the question whether the Batussi brought these cattle with them or whether they found them in the area they now inhabit, Stuhlmann also chooses the first alternative (No. 28a, p. 695). Long-horned cattle are found over the entire area of Ruanda and Urundi. Toward the west the limit is the big Central African trench, toward the south and southeast the scarp of the interlacustrine plateau toward Ujiji and Uha. Here in the southeast I found

231 the last herds of the long-horned cattle in the Urundi border villages west of the Kisuma River; east of this, in lower northern Uha, the bush forest and tsetse fly begin.

In Urundi and Ruanda there are none of the smaller, short-horned zebu or humped cattle that are found in the rest of East Africa. Bahima cattle are so well adjusted to the climate and the mode of life of the highlands of the interlacustrine region that they thrive only in this region. As soon as the animals are taken to the lower areas, that is, to Unjamwesi, Lake Victoria, or to the coastal regions, they languish and soon die, even if they are not stung by the tsetse fly. In this respect they are quite like the Batussi themselves with whom they live in a kind of symbiosis.

As a former nation of shepherds, the Batussi place a high value on their cattle which is quite foreign to the Bantu. It far exceeds the estimate of their capital value. Cattle are not regarded as producers of meat, as an "article of consumption," but as original capital from which only the dividends (milk, [237] butter, blood tapped from the living animal, hair) may be used, while the capital itself (individual heads of cattle) may only be exchanged for other valuable capital assets, for example, women. More than that, cattle have a high sentimental value for the [182] Mutussi. His entire thoughts and aspirations revolve around the cattle; they are for him the mainstay of his social order, yes, even the object of his devotion which in many cases even transcends into the religious sphere. Accordingly, they are objects of a cult which is full of symbols and mystical relationships. [776] The highest deity, Imana, is first of all protector of the cattle. In East Africa we find a similar attitude among the Hamito-Nilotic nation of herdsmen, the Massai. In whatever concerns [462] cattle, a woman has no say at all. The entire breeding and care of the cattle, even milking, is the job of the man. It is true that in this sphere too the Bahutu have to do all the heavy work, cleaning the animals, tending the cattle in the pasture, milking the cows, etc., but the Mutussi does the more delicate work: he chooses the animals for breeding; he is the veterinarian; he decides what animals are to be killed or sacrificed; and he does this job with all the affection of the sportsman for his animal.

231 422 The cattle of the entire country belong de jure to the king (or to the highest chief), as in Ruanda. He leaves a large part of the cattle with the Batussi sub chiefs, who enjoy the usufruct, and [42] the latter, in turn, leave small herds and single animals with lower Batussi and individual Bahutu for care, further breeding, and use. A set small number of the young becomes the property of the caretaker which he holds as an irrevocable fee.

231 554 To a certain degree the almost mystical esteem in which cattle are held is transferred to the temporary owners, caretakers, and breeders of the cattle. A person who is vested with cattle is thus raised to a higher status. A Muhutu who is vested with cattle for the usufruct and for breeding is ennobled, so to speak, by this act; he is no longer subject to compulsory labor, nor does he have to work the fields for his master. Thus, the possession of cattle has a social significance which is no less important than the economic one. Not only for religious reasons but also for social and political ones, old and sick cattle are allowed to live as long as they possibly can, both in Urundi and Ruanda, for they can still be used to vest someone with them who through this rise in status is more closely tied to the Batussi rulers and the king. It is also for this reason that the immense number of cattle owned by the king are a strong support of Batussi rule.

233 All cattle are fed in pasture (Plate 23); only older calves and sick animals are fed in the stable. During the night the cattle are kept within the inner fence of the homestead. As soon as they have been cleaned after sunrise in the morning and the cows have been milked, the herd is driven to pasture (kwahura inka). The location of grazing land is determined by the season and the growth of fodder. The herd remains there until evening. Every sixth or eighth head of cattle carries a bell (insogera) made from a bent piece of sheet iron (Plate 45) or from wood; in many areas, however, there are no cattle bells at all. Twice daily the herd is driven to the water-
233 312 ing place in the nearest river valley. If the valley has no flowing water but only underground water to be obtained by digging holes, as is often the case during the dry months, long

439 from Urundi and Ruanda are sold in Usumbura and Bukoba for export since there is a heavy demand for them. The hides are almost without exception from animals that died, either useless steers or sterile cows, which for this reason are now killed in much greater numbers than before. Since for reasons mentioned above other cattle are seldom slaughtered, the export of hides will remain quite restricted in the future.

One of the "superstitious" customs connected with cattle
272 farming whose practical basis and meaning cannot be dis-
825 covered any more is that the Murundi may never heat or even boil milk. If he did so, the cow from whom the milk had been taken would get a sore udder or she would even stop giving milk altogether. It is also believed that the cow would develop sores on her udder if the Murundi ate peas or peanuts on the day he drank milk. This taboo evidently also has dietetic reasons.
752 On the other hand, it is difficult to understand why someone with a wound on his leg or on some other part of his body is not permitted to look on while a cow is calving; it is assumed that his wounds would then grow even larger (No. 19, p. 423).

231 It is certain that the Barundi have taken over the belief
776 imported by the Batussi that especially close connections exist between cattle and the chief deity, Imana. All cattle are dedicated to Imana and are believed to be creatures "possessed" by Imana. Instead of Imana, Riangombe is also often mentioned. On the other hand it is reported that even the "devil," or Rikiranga, the most important of the evil spirits (see p. 121), is the owner of a cattle herd in the vicinity of Mujaga which includes two steers dedicated to him (Afrikabote [African Messenger], 1904, p. 123). Yet the precise extent of these religious beliefs regarding cattle is quite unknown. Finally,
576 we might mention that during the involved greetings of the
231 Barundi the phrase, "ischo-scho-amascho," that is, "cattle,
[782] cattle herd," is repeated. Van der Burgt considers this typical herdsman's greeting a kind of supplication to the main god, Imana, to grant the person greeted all kinds of good fortune which is epitomized precisely by cattle (No. 19, p. 530). In van der Burgt's opinion all salutations of the Barundi are of

576 a religious character (see p. 95 , types of greeting). This is
231 possible and quite probable, considering the solemnity with which the long greeting [47] ceremony is practiced by those participating in it. It must be remembered, however, that very solemn and extended salutations are also customary among other East African tribes and that they have absolutely no religious content. They have their source simply in the general urge of the Negroes toward involved forms of speech and dignified behavior. In a shorter form, the "cattle greeting" [171] is also used by the Banjaruanda who have also taken it over from their Batussi. Even the Batwa, who never own cattle, have acquired it.

231 Second only to cattle, sheep (intama; Plate 24a) are considered the most valuable domestic animal. Nevertheless, sheep are less numerous in Urundi than goats since they are more difficult to raise and they are not as fecund as goats. The Barundi have two breeds of sheep: a medium-sized woolly type without a fatty tail and a bigger fatty-tailed sheep. Both of them are dappled or white, rarely black. Both are raised [281] only for their hides which are used either for domestic consumption (cloak, blankets, etc.) or as trade objects in exchange for iron hoes, salt, and other necessities. A small number of sheep are used for sacrifices and oracles. Neither the Batussi [262] nor the Bahutu eat the meat (the Bahutu only eat it on rare occasions), but the Batwa are quite fond of it.

Goats (impene) are much more numerous in Urundi. They are of a breed with long legs, rather short bodies, and short, dappled or yellowish-gray hair (Plate 24a). This breed is strong, resistant, easily satisfied, and very fecund; a litter of three or four kids is quite frequent. Goats and sheep often are sent to the pasture together, but wherever grass is sparse, only goats find sufficient fodder while the sheep and cattle have [262] to be driven to better pastures. The Batussi are as reluctant [231] to eat goat meat as mutton, and the Bahutu seldom eat it, but goat skins are an important item in the bartering trade of the Barundi, and for this reason the number of goats has been

231 terribly decimated since the admission of traders in 1906. Goats are not used for sacrifices.

235 Chickens (inkoko) are the only domestic fowl of the Barundi, but they are kept only in small numbers. It is possible to wander for days through the farms of central Urundi without seeing a single chicken. There are far more in Usige, in the Tanganyika area, where they are used exclusively for trade. [439] They are sold to the Moslem Negroes of the coastal area there who like chicken and who have been very numerous since the time of the Arabs and are now numerous due to European colonization. Not only the Batussi and Bahutu but also the [262] Batwa detest chicken meat; it is an age-old food taboo which is probably of totemic origin. The breed is the one generally found in East Africa, long-legged and mostly black. The chickens are not fed at all. They have to find their own food, and for this reason they are always thin. In most of interior [782] Urundi and in Ruanda they are only used for sacrificial occasions and as oracles. They are sacrificed to the manes of deceased family members or to the spirits, Imana, Rikiranga, and Riangombe, in the same manner as sheep and cattle (see p. 135). Certain cocks are also dedicated to Imana (No. 19, p. 453). [787] To consult the oracle, the chickens are killed, and the future or the uncertainties of the present are augured from the color and position of their viscera. This is done by the sorcerers or medicine men who will, of course, read the oracle as it suits them best. The Barundi regard the eating of chicken by 262 Europeans and the Moslem Negroes of the coast as abominable. They also abhor the eating of eggs, probably for totemic reasons and not because they regard [48] eggs as excrement of the chicken, as has often been claimed, sometimes even by themselves. They know quite well that the egg contains the embryo of the chicken and therefore that a person eating eggs is really eating chicken, thereby violating the food taboo.

235 753 Van der Burgt mentions another "superstitious" custom: when a hen is found eating its own eggs or killing its chicks, the egg shells are thrown on a crossroads to prevent the hen

235 from doing this again. Barundi passing this way take pains not
753 to crush the shells since the improvident person doing so would get sick (No. 19, p. 453).

231 Finally, among the domesticated animals we shall mention the dog (imbwa). His only purpose in life is to eat all the refuse. Adults and children play with him and also maltreat him. It has already been mentioned above (p. 36) that on rare occasions he is also used for hunting drives. Both mentally and physically they are most miserable curs and it is difficult to understand why, after being domesticated for so long, they have not made better progress. Perhaps their domestication does not date back as far as is generally assumed, but in that case what might be their indigenous wild ancestor? Van der Burgt says that they "tiennent du loup" (resemble the wolf) (No. 19, p. 104). This can only be an error of observation for these dogs have much more in common with a jackal than with a wolf. Perhaps the jackal is the ancestor. Yet the original stock has separated into two different breeds, unless we assume that one breed was indigenous while the other was introduced later, probably by the Bahima. One breed is yellow-brown, and its ears are pointed upright. The other one is black, white, or spotted and has drooping ears. Mixed types, however, are quite frequent. Both types have only a little hair on their tails. When they run, the stiff, jolting motions of their legs are conspicuous. I have found the same two types or varieties distributed also in Kisiba and Ruanda. In Ruanda dogs are bred in greater numbers than in Urundi, probably because they are used for hunting more than here. Since dogs are not fed, they have to take care of themselves, and of necessity they have become omnivorous. They are always hungry and very skinny. Whenever they find something to eat, they fill themselves until they are ready to burst. What Europeans find most revolting about them and the
364 Barundi consider a useful trait is that they eat human excrement. In a country where there are no pigs and only a few scavenger birds, which take care of the sanitation problem in the rest of East Africa, the dogs are of hygienic importance. Apart from this they have absolutely no social virtues. They are snappish, cowardly, thievish, very poor watchdogs, and miserable

comrades. However, their fecundity is considerable; a bitch will seldom have a litter of less than eight to ten. It is generally claimed that the dogs of the natives in East Africa do not bark but only howl. This is not quite correct. As a matter of fact they do not give a short, clear bark as our house dogs do, but, on the other hand, they do not merely howl. The sounds they utter are usually a combination of both barking and howling. After an extended howling sound, two or three short barks follow, blending into one another, then another howl follows, and so forth.

There are no domestic animals in Urundi and Ruanda other than those described above.

3. Agriculture

In spite of the importance of cattle farming in Urundi and Ruanda, agriculture (kurima) is nevertheless the basis of economic life. Almost without exception, farming is practiced only by the [49] original settlers, the Bahutu, and by part of those Batwa who have undergone a metamorphosis. The Batussi, however, seldom help till the soil; they prefer to have the Bahutu do their work. Only the lowest and poorest class of the Batussi work in the fields. Agricultural work in this area is not merely reserved to women. Men, women, and children participate equally. Only among the Batwa, the oldest element of the population, is agricultural work exclusively done by women (No. 19, p. 19). Yet the Batwa claim that they learned from the Bahutu how to cultivate the soil.

The only agricultural implement is the iron hoe (ischuka, igembe) which has the shape of a clover leaf or of a "heart with a stem" well-known all over East Africa (see Plate 46). As a result of its wide distribution over the entire interlacustrine region, the field hoe has become the chief object of internal trade, a yardstick of value, a coin. Since the Barundi and Batwa blacksmiths cannot satisfy the demand, many hoes are imported from Uha, Usámbiro, Uvinza, etc. The blade of the hoe is about 30 centimeters long. An iron spine bent at an

245 artificially through long ducts (see p. 55). Mountainous areas at altitudes of more than 2,400 meters are too cold for bananas [51]; their growth already becomes noticeably sparse beginning at an altitude of 2,000 meters. Only a few bananas grow in the sterile quartzite areas of eastern Urundi.

Most of the fruit of the banana is cut down when it is [252] still green and unripe. The bananas are then peeled and boiled in water to make a kind of porridge, or they are [262] dried in the sun and ground into flour. Ripe fruit is eaten only in small amounts and as a delicacy since it is hard to [273] digest uncooked. For brewing beer, bananas are artificially ripened by fire in holes dug in the ground (see p. 60).

After the bundles of fruit have been cut off, the trunk withers. If necessary, it is cut down and split into small pieces which are spread at the foot of other trunks as vegetable fertilizer. Chopped banana trunks are also used [231] as fodder for young cattle. In dry areas the watery juice is squeezed from the trunks and drunk. The fibers of half-dried trunks are used for making string, rope, and plaited work, and the large dry leaves are used for roofing the huts, for wrapping various objects, etc.

244 Beans (ikiharage), next to bananas the most important means of subsistence of the Barundi, are grown in large fields all over the country. They abound in the higher or drier areas where bananas thrive with difficulty or not at all. Beans still grow quite well at altitudes between 2,000 and 2,500 meters. About 90 varieties are known: bushy, creeping, and climbing types; those which thrive in cold or in warm climates; and those bearing seeds of different size and color. They all belong to the species Phaseolus vulgaris which has probably been brought to the interlacustrine region from the west, together with the sweet potato and corn (No. 28a, p. 222). The creepers grow as tall as a man, and each plant is propped up by a sorghum stalk or a stick to which they can cling in the same manner as our [European] climbing beans. They are planted by sticking two or three beans into small holes made with a hoe.

The same technique is used for peas (uwusassja) of which

2: Meyer--257 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 23

231
137

Cattle Near Mugera, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Cattle with Bitterns in the Ruzizi Valley, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

Plate 25

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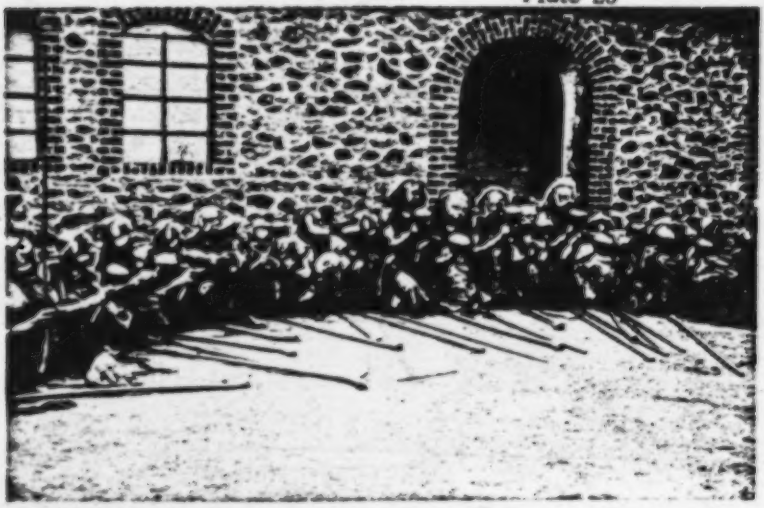

"Cattle Doctors" of King Mutaga During the Exorcizing Ceremony.
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

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142

Murundi Woman with Woven Beehives
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

No villages

361 Characteristic of the country is the non-existence of villages. Though some habitations may be close to one another, they can never be said to be grouped. [417] Isolated by the compact wooden fence that surrounds them, shut from the outside world by a narrow, easily closing gate, they never look towards any central point that could distinguish some more or less important unit from similar units merely by its being oriented towards that central point. In fact, no such central point ever exists, but cabins appear sprinkled all over the country, in a denser or looser or sometimes discontinued dissemination it is true, but always without any well defined organic nucleus.

No markets

443 Not only in its not having villages is Urundi
439 different from most African countries: neither had it any markets. Before the colonization, markets were only held in the coastal sector of Tanganyika, where their presence can probably be related to the existence of a fishing population. In the interior, the [177] first markets originated with German colonists in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was on a very small scale.

443 Now Africa is almost entirely a village country and it has also been said it is the favourite land for markets. Admittedly, village and market are far from coinciding in space: but they are not entirely unrelated. Village means daily meeting, market periodical meeting. This regular contact between inhabitants of one more or less important region is certainly less frequent in Urundi than elsewhere.

535 I am inclined to compare with this what can be ascertained concerning dancing. Except in the east (Kumoso), the west (Imbo), and the South (Buha), except with the Batwa, except with women and girls (which I confess is not negligible), dancing has neither the form nor the meaning usual with other popula- [534] tions; as the drum remains a privilege of the *mwami* (sultan), there is no tom-tom; the chiefs themselves pick the carefully trained war-dancers from the whole of their district: such a dance is meant to exalt the chief, not to be a factor of unity for the male population of a district.

Cattle-breeding and agriculture

224 Except for the Batwa, hunting is of little import-
226 ance to the country's life: for the Batutsi, it is a mere sport without practical utility. The economic significance of fishing is not greater.

● 231 The social significance of cattle-breeding is considerable, yet its economic importance is smaller than

[p. 13 (B)]

231 one might be inclined to believe. The cows yield
[234] little milk, and part of this milk is used for making butter, which is employed not for food, but for a cosmetic. Cattle-slaying is (or rather was) not frequent and only young steers, sterile cows, or old beasts are butchered. The cattle are lean, the pastures usually second-rate. And whatever the cattle-breeders themselves may say, they are mainly vegetarians: but the less immediately productive the cattle-breeders' occupation appears, the greater and the nobler the rank it confers to them. It is mainly
[556] an outward sign of wealth, with a superior social standing attached to it that enables the higher classes to procure women and claim the devoted and faithful services of the males. It is worth remarking that the
[462] cattle are cared for by the men, not—save in exceptional cases—by the women.

241 Barundi economy is based on agriculture, which is mainly in the hands of the Bahutu, to whom we must add some impoverished Batutsi and most of the Batwa. Sorghum, beans and peas are the chief
[273] products, but cassava culture is spreading to-day. Bananas are used for brewing beer. (The agricultural techniques are very primitive, though sometimes more advanced in some respects than might be expected: hardly any other implement than the hoe is commonly employed, and yet manuring and irrigation are
[467] known.) Agriculture uses male as well as female labour, but the latter is more common. Among the Batwa only women till the land, and among the Bahutu there are men who take no part in agriculture.

000 This general information will enable us now to understand the chief subject of this address: the intercourse between the elements of the Barundi population where vicinity plays so small a part.

The position towards the political chiefs.

643 The country's unity is chiefly based on the sultan's
796 personal power; his prestige is clearly visible in the general mourning and the curious burial rites consequent on his death. Also characteristic was the annual recurrence of an important religious festival usually held in our month of December and called *umuganuro*, the sorghum festival, the sorghum desacralization: only after the festival could the people start sowing sorghum in their fields. The *umuganuro*, however, concerned other agricultural
[778] products, as well as cattle and game. It included the exhibition of a sacred drum (*karyenda*) and a hierogamy—which the king achieved with the greatest secrecy. It involved, as well for the festivities themselves as for the preparation of the requisites the hereditary collaboration of men and women picked from every social level and every region, however distant. And so the festival created stronger ties

423 dispersed areas. The chief would have his *ingo* (plural of *rugo*, residence) built on several hills, and usually establish one of his wives in each of them, to direct the centre entrusted to her. This is a very typical estate organization : it is based on polygamy.

The position towards cattle-owners

422 We have said that the *mwami* did not possess the
661 land : neither has he any right of possession over the big cattle. The *mwami* would sometimes take cattle where he found them, but this was only a violent misuse of his tyrannical power. Batutsi and even Bahutu cattle-rearers are definitely the owners of their herds when, of course, the cattle are not simply entrusted to them.

231 These cattle can be given and this very thing adds
43 a great deal to their worth, for those who desire them
357 are naturally attracted towards those who own them. The king presents with cows the great who come to pay him homage. During the great annual sorghum festival, he ritually distributes cattle to some methodically chosen persons. The great men used to be surrounded, and are still, with a group of servants of various ranks : *ntore* (vassals who owed them a more important military aid than the average tenants), *bagendanyi* (young attendants charged to carry out their messages), *bakamyi* (young Batutsi entrusted with the milking of the cows), *abungere* who watch over the cattle), *bakevvi* (cooks), *inshoreke* (female attendants and servants). The most esteemed among these followers (*ntore*, *bagendanyi*, *bakamyi*) hope to receive cows one day, the *bakamyi* especially, on the day when they will leave the service to get married.

231 There are also the so-called cattle-contracts. Here
675 are the most interesting of them : (1) A cattle-owner
425 gives someone a cow, in exchange, the donee will later
554 return a calf after the cow has calved two or three times. (2) An important owner gives several cows to a man who must in his turn permanently provide him with a milch-cow. (3) The owner of an important herd entrusts a man with the breeding of several cows which he may use for milk and manure ; one of the cows will be his if the herd has prospered.

In all these cases, the recipient becomes the liege of the donor (or the depositor). In some cases, the recipient is considered a near relative, even a son of the donor and marriage impediments ensue from the assimilation. On the other hand, the higher the donor is socially speaking, the less he tries to derive material profit from these transactions : his real profit is in the power he acquires over the person of the recipient.

423 *The relations between agriculturists*

425 Similar ties may exist between agriculturists. The

423 are least fortunate or most enterprising get together to sell or exchange
[311] their plots and go to the edge of the forest to buy a piece of land or to develop the one they owned there.

From then on, the clan to which they belong includes an additional village.

As in Europe the sale and lease of fields and banana groves is made in the presence of witnesses. Land boundaries are marked with stones and other conventional signs.

A felled tree, a displaced stone, some ground which has been broken in a neighbor's field over the dividing line, such things cause frequent litigations that give rise to disunity within families and among tribes over long periods of time.

361 The Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/ remains attached to his native village, to his plot of land. He does not feel the need to move elsewhere, to change his domicile, as do the Blacks settled east and west of Tanganyika.

[134] Ruanda soil is richer by far and sustains numerous and varied crops.

245 In addition to the banana grove, which is the most important part of his property, the Munyarwanda has begun to plant trees and to cultivate coffee, which brings in large profits to which he was not
[231] accustomed. Ownership of a small herd of cattle or sheep makes his home even dearer to him.

593 It may be said that his home life is more stable than in neighboring areas, and that he leaves it only rarely (1).

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1. The Blacks, too, are familiar with nostalgia and home sickness. The fear of a vendetta or the attraction of large salaries may temporarily induce the natives to expatriate themselves. Sooner or later, however, they return to the cradle of their ancestors. The Banyarwanda cite characteristic instances of this.

342 The Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/ lives in round huts made of reeds, bamboo, and small sticks which are stuck into the ground and whose tips vanish into a sort of previously braided roof (igisenge).

Flexible stalks, gathered into bunches and tied inside in the shape of a circle, lend unity and strength to the structure. Wooden pillars placed under the dome serve as supports and keep the arch from falling over its owners.

The cover is made of grass: sometimes hay from the grasslands, sometimes coarse marsh grass called urukangaga.

[554] Let us add that the beauty and solidity of the hut vary with the wealth of its owner. The hut /54/ includes several compartments divided by partitions of woven bamboo or reeds.

352 513 The bed is made of four pickets set into the ground and interconnected by pieces of wood across the width and length. It supports a mattress of grass covered with a mat. The bed is reserved for the parents. Children sleep on the ground on a mat used half as a mattress and half as a cover.

● 231 If the owner has some sheep or goats, or even a small calf, he makes room for them in one corner of the hut. The poultry also settles there. And everyone sleeps most peacefully.

354 The furnishings are very primitive. Three clumps of earth, once the domes of as many anthills, make up the andirons of the [415] hearth. They support a large water jar that serves to cook everything. Above the hearth sits a sort of grid where wood is laid to dry.

352 415 In addition, against the partition delimiting the space reserved for strangers, there are jars and jugs of varying size, a half-gourd to scoop water, whole gourds of varying shape and size to hold banana juice or drinking water.

If the Munyarwanda is fortunate enough to own a cow, which is a gift from the gods, he will also have milk containers and churns.

351 Slightly hollowed round billets are used as seats. The hut is usually surrounded by a courtyard of variable size enclosed by a wall of ficus or euphorbia (imiyenzi) that serves as shelter against the wind and [343] protection against thieves. Small shelters (indaro) dedicated to the spirits and food granaries stand within the courtyard to one side or another.

128 common to the three ethnic groups which make up the Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ nation, or peculiar to one group or another.

Chapter 1

644 1. Posts and Offices of a Historical and Superstitious Nature.
The Keepers of the Customs and Traditions.
231 The "King" of the First Fruits and the "King" of the Imandwa.
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1. Maintenance at court of a dog-faced baboon and a sacred bull.

It will be recalled that according to legend, when the enemies of Ruganzu II the Victorious attempted to smoke him out of a cave, /356/ he was saved by dog-faced baboons (inguge), who led him through subterranean tunnels to another exit. One of those animals is kept at the capital in order to commemorate this fantastic legend.

The clan in charge of caring for the animal is known under the name of Abanyamuheno, that is to say, "Men of the Cave," in memory of the event.

The monkey, tied with a chain, is fed by his keepers with sweet potatoes, beans, grains, sorghum stalks, etc.

When he gets old he is released in the forest where he was captured when young, and another monkey is sought out to replace him.

Is not this custom reminiscent of honored practices at the court of the Pharaohs, where dog-faced baboons were also raised?

[233] Ruanda is a land of pastures. The Batutsi possess numerous herds of cattle which are, rightly enough, the pride and joy of their owners.

It is not surprising to hear, therefore, that aside from the sacred herds that will be mentioned in the last chapter but one of this book there is a bull at court that is the object of special care and attentions.

644 This animal is known by the name of Rusanga and lives with a
231 few cows who bear the same designation, insanga (plural of Rusanga).
778 The bull is brought onto royal grounds from time to time, when sacrifices are performed, in its capacity as official representative of all the kingdom's cattle. Usually flanked by two cows, the bull is goaded forward by its keepers to the shelter consecrated to the spirits.
[769 The king or the sorcerer who officiates in his name presents the
782] animals to the royal ancestral spirits. "Here," he says, "are the herds which you have left us. We go on caring for them, and their numbers grow incessantly. Divert epizootic diseases from our cattle /357/ and spare us calamities of all kinds. Make events favorable to us, and the Europeans (who occupy the land) benevolent!" etc.

[773] In the mind of the Hamites, the observance of this rite is connected with the memory of Gihanga and his daughter Nyirarutchaba, who are credited with the introduction of cattle into Ruanda.

There is every reason to believe that in both practical and implicit fashion, the Batutsi honor thereby the memory of the Hamitic prince who actually introduced the first beeves into the country. The legend of Nyirarutchaba gradually replaced the historical event.

If one grants, on the other hand, that the Batutsi are descended from the Egyptians or from a related people, it should not be surprising to find certain vestiges of the Apis cult at the Ruanda court.

The existence of sacred herds called inyambo, and their presentation at important festivals may be interpreted in similar fashion. Their visit to the capital under the above-mentioned circumstances has the same meaning and the same sacrificial character.

Once the ceremony is completed, the animals are led back to pasture near the capital.

When the bull dies it must be replaced immediately with another. The selection which takes place is known under the name of "enthronement" or "new reign" (kwimika in Runyarwanda). This shows the importance of the event itself and the value attached to this curious tradition.

[262] Although the Banyarwanda are extremely fond of meat and even eat the corpses of animals, they are strictly forbidden to taste
[766] the flesh of the sacred bull. The animal is buried, and so are the inyambo.

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778 inyambo. The individual who is placed in charge of Rusanga is called /358/ Nkwaya and belongs to the Banyiginya clan. This is a position of trust.

The insanga are well known by the inhabitants of the capital.

644 2. The chief of protocol and the "king" of the first fruits.

There exists a complicated ceremonial and a series of rites whose teaching would soon be lost if their preservation were not entrusted to a group of personages who supervise their observance scrupulously at the monarch's side. They do not fail to call him to order occasionally on this score.

The most important of those directors of protocol, or masters of ceremony, is unquestionably the chief of the Batsobe clan. His is a select position by the side of the sovereign, whom he counsels and directs in those matters which are within his competence. His name will come up again in the pages that follow (1).

1. The Batsobe played an exalted role in the Ruchunchu coup d'état. As a reward, the spoils of the vanquished were distributed among them. Their major fees are the Bumbogo, Luhanga, Bussigi, etc.

Under the ultimate supervision of this high dignitary, one family is in charge of cultivating in the sacred land of Bumbogo the sorghum and eleusine which are later brought to court for the yearly "first-fruits festival." We shall speak of this later when we discuss festivals.

The head of this family is sometimes called "king of the first fruits" (umwami w'umuganura). The father and founder of the Batsobe clan, as we have already mentioned, was raised to noble rank and brought into Ruanda by the Hamitic king, Ruganzu II, as a result of the latter's expedition into Bugara lands, north of the Mulera, against the petty king Nzira, son of Mulamira. In connivance with his mother, the ancestor of the Batsobe had sheltered the disguised

794 His peculiar cry of "a ba ba ba...," pronounced in a virile tone,
776 recalls that Binego had great strength and invincible courage.

3. Mugasa is Ryangombe's son-in-law.

His adepts imitate him by flinging two goatskins over their body and by adopting as their peculiar insignia a household spatula holding a piece of sorghum bread. Mugasa had a weakness for sorghum bread and goat meat. To honor him his disciples adopt the same customs and habits as their master. For some reason, they clink a
[30] necklace made of small pieces of dried wood which is usually strung
854] around the neck of children to amuse them or keep them from crying (inkondo z' ibichuma).

His special cry is "yee yee ye...."

4. Nyabirungu, son of Ryangombe, was a hunter.

[224 His impersonator rings a small bell (of the type strung around
231] the neck of dogs), symbol of the hunt, and cries "i i i..." to recall
534] that Nyabirungu would return satisfied from the forest with a large provision of game.

5. Luhanga, son of Ryangombe.

He symbolizes filial love because he rescued his mother from poverty when she was abandoned by Ryangombe, built her a beautiful hut, and provided for her needs.

He is represented in the ceremonies with a milk container full of beer, perhaps in order to recall the happy mother who, thanks to him, no longer lacked anything.

6. Nyakiriro, son of Ryangombe.

7. Kagoro, like his brother Nyabirungu, loved to hunt, hence
[287] the dogs at his side. He had /365/ the habit of covering his head with
[415] a piece of mpuzu, a fabric made of ficus bark, of drinking out of a hollowed half gourd fashioned for this purpose (uruho), and of using
[272] a twig (umutozo) to blend curdled milk properly before taking it. Those who invoke him feel that they honor him by imitating him, that is to say, by copying his gestures and deeds.

8. Muzana is represented as a slave girl in the ceremonies.

She is honored by the Batutsi, who represent her by the side of a cow who has never lost a calf (inka y' issugi), a churning gourd, and a small pat of rancid butter (isimbo y'amavuta).

766 In principle, the corpse may not be buried. Whenever possi-
821 ble, it must be taken to a mountain, a hill, or some other elevated spot, to meet the king of the sky who chose to honor him (Yamukujije) by calling upon him. In the Gissaka province, the body is left on an old termite nest.

Rejoicing is the rule for the duration of the ceremonies. The
[152] close relatives must join in this novel festival with /437/ dances and joyful cries in spite of their grief. If the deceased was a man, it is said that the king of the sky made him his chosen subject. If a woman
588 or young girl was involved, she was chosen as his wife. This belief
766 had become so ingrained that if the unfortunate woman recovered
821 she could not be taken in marriage by anyone but the king. In the more distant provinces, she was regarded as having actually become the wife of lightning. She was then treated as a widow or divorcée, that is to say, her "second marriage" (guchura) was carried out as simply as possible, without any of the ceremonies that go with the wedding (kulongora) of a young girl.

Before leaving, the purifier-sorcerer stuck a ficus branch into
766 the ground at the spot of the accident, along with a bough of red-
821 blooming erythrina (umwuko), a reed, and a stalk each of ishoza,
[824 umurembe, ifubge, ilalire, urubamba, etc., to purify the spot and
783] avert any future consequences.

2. The role of the purifier-sorcerer when domestic animals
821 have been struck down by lightning. The corpses of the animals,
231 cows, goats, sheep, are left on the spot. No one may touch them
791 before the sorcerer arrives. If the accident occurred in the evening
796 and his services could not be requisitioned in time, watchmen spend the night near the victims to guard them from hyenas and prowlers.

On the following morning at daybreak, people gather at the scene of the accident and beat drums as a sign of rejoicing. As in the preceding case, the sorcerer twice offers a liquid substance of his own making to each of the bystanders, and makes them inhale another.

Husbands must secure a few drops and bring them to the wives who remained at home. /438/ The bodies of the victims are also copiously sprinkled with it.

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Then the owners are allowed to carve up the animals on the spot and to distribute the pieces. Words referring to buying and selling must be avoided, however, so as not to offend the lightning whose [422] property rights would thus be violated. The buyers are tacitly bound to compensate the owner. When the time comes for payment, they hand him the price of the meat, rated at its actual value, but without saying anything about it. The seller, if he wishes to induce a recalcitrant buyer to make payment, cannot bring up the subject in explicit terms.

At most he may go to the man's home bearing a native umbrella (issinde) which, owing to its function in times of rain and storms, is supposed to remind the delinquent debtor of the tacit agreement made after one of those storms. It is quite permissible for the debtor to play deaf and blind and refuse to understand. His creditor has no direct hold over him. In order to avoid the evils of lightning with which the seller threatens him in vain with the presence of his umbrella, our recalcitrant buyer need only toss far away the bones of [539] the piece of meat he had chosen and cry, "It was the king of the sky who gave it to me" (n'umwami yangabuliye). These words, pronounced in a loud and intelligible voice, are well understood by the creditor, who can do nothing else.... They clearly convey his dismissal and a definitive refusal.

In certain provinces the owner of a cow struck down by lightning, and the people in his house must observe an eight-day mourning [833] period (okwirabura). Cohabitation between spouses is forbidden during that period, just as at the death of a member of the family. The bull, billy goat, and ram are separated from the herds. Cow milk is set aside, and no one may drink of it. When the eight days are over, the animal's master builds a special small /439/ hut on the spot where the animal was killed.

The other cows are milked there, or else the cream gathered [302] on previous days is used and immediately churned. Once the butter is ready, the participants rub it over their bodies while the women and children sing and shout their joy (bakavuz'impundu).

Beer is offered to the guests, and the day ends in the hope that the king of the sky (lightning) will not return to seek new victims.

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821 The purifier-sorcerer need not be present at this last ceremony. Their role and presence were essential only on the day of purification. They always come away with handsome rewards, leaving on the spot protective herbs or lucky amulets (impigi za Biheko).

753 3. In some localities individuals also resort to these doctors
783 in mystical sciences upon the death of a leper or the burning of a hut.

a. The natives have an acute aversion to contagious diseases and especially to leprosy. Once the unfortunate victim of one of those terrible diseases is dead, the purifier-sorcerer is called in to carry out various ceremonies. He tosses lustral water upon the hut of the deceased, and finally sets fire to it. The onlookers run far away in order to avoid the smoke, as though it could transmit the disease of the deceased owner.

In the central province of Nduga, the sorcerer has a small hut built in which he places the son of the deceased. With one hand he sets fire to the hut, while with the other he rapidly snatches the child out of it.

The leprosy is supposed to have vanished forever, and henceforth no other member of the family will become its victim. The sorcerer vouches for this. /440/

b. In order to avoid the evils which might befall the owner of a hut that has burned or even his neighbors, the same sorcerer is resorted to. He makes his clients drink the liquid mentioned previously.

The site of the hut is sprinkled with lustral water, and the bystanders are also sprinkled with it.

Three reeds stuck into the ground and covered with banana leaves make an improvised hut in which the owner and his wife must stay for an instant (baryamana). The evil spell has been lifted. Henceforth, nothing is to be feared (bamaz' umuriro or bamaze ishyano, that is to say, "they have warded off all misfortune"). The diseases which might have afflicted those present at the accident and their unborn children have been averted forever.

791 In the Bugoyi, to the northeast of Lake Kivu, the role of protector against fire and its deadly consequences is the prerogative of a special category of sorcerers known by the title of Abahozi or

173 643 766 778 The best known of the royal cemeteries is that of Rutare in the mountainous Buyaga area, not far from Lake Mohazi near the frontier of Ruanda.

The existence of this resting place is traced back, rightly or wrongly, to Ruganzu II, who is said to have been the first one to be buried there.

According to one tradition, he had himself chosen the site of his tomb on this high spot, so as to be an insuperable obstacle to the enemies of Ruanda even after his death. This tradition is seriously challenged by the inhabitants of the central province of Nduga (1).

1. Cf. Book III, The Reign of Ruganzu II.

The last two kings who were buried there and who are recalled most readily were Lwogera and Lwabugiri, the immediate predecessors of the present reigning monarch.

It is rather difficult to say for how many monarchs the sepulchral grove of Rutare has served as last resting place. /528/ The trees in the thickets, some of which are quite old, were formerly separate but eventually merged. Here and there, old trunks which marked the site of the courtyards in which the huts were built have disappeared, so that one cannot count the funerery enclosures with any exactitude. There do not seem to be more than eight or ten.

Three other royal cemeteries are found at Musenyi in the Nduga to the south of the Kabgayi mission, about two hours away. The first one stands on the slope of a hill called by the name of Mayebe. It is made up of a small wood of thorny acacia trees which have reached their maximum height and whose long intertwined branches lend a mysterious atmosphere to the grove, where a half light barely penetrates. Some other trees with thicker foliage dominate the grove. Those are the inganzamarombo (1).

• [231]

1. They are called thus from kuganza, "to overtop," and marombo, "swarms of bees," because the natives like to set their hives there.

5: Pagès--279 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Buffalo.

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[231]

Horned chameleons. They are found in the region of the Bugoyi.

5: Pagès--280 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

On the plain of the Mulèra in the middle of a field of sorghum. After an elephant hunt.

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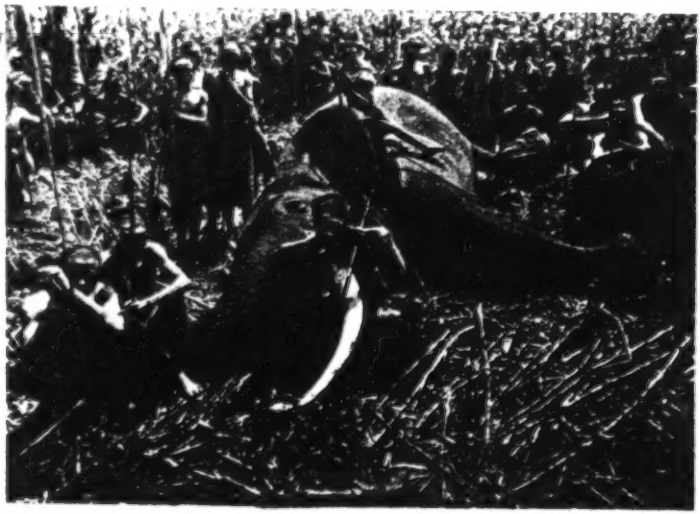

Longhorn cows.

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241 soil when in dire circumstances are scorned by their fellow tribes-
558 men, and consequently they are absorbed into the mass of farmers who belong to another tribe.

231 The cow is the center of interest for the Batutsi. She domi-
576 nates one's whole life, both external and internal, his feelings and thoughts. She is the basis of all action, both conscious and spontaneous. For the Batutsi the cow is the most precious, beautiful, and beloved thing they own. For this reason she always is mentioned in compliments and polite phrases.

If you wish to extol a man's strength and handsomeness, you say to him: "uli mfizi (you are a bull)." With this designation, for example, Musinga's court honored His Highness, Duke Adolf Friedrich of Mecklenburg. The other members of the expedition, in accordance with their rank, were given the title, "children of the great bull," which we Europeans certainly find less flattering. To a young man whom they wish to compliment on his handsomeness, they often say: "ufite amaso nki yi nyana (you have eyes like a calf)." For the same reason Europeans are often told that their beard is like a cow's tail, their hair like cow's hair, etc.

Not only the polite phrases of the Mututsi ["mu-," a prefix indicating singular in number] but his greeting as well is associated with the cow. He uses the word amasho, meaning "herd," which it seems, is an abbreviation of the phrase, "to you a herd." The reply is amasho ngore, "to you a female herd," or, in other words, "May you have cows that will give you calves." This greeting is common throughout Ruanda. I found it as far north as the Rutshuru. Beyond this river, on my way from Bugoye to the village of Rutshuru, I found that the people no longer responded to amasho.

576 Farewells are an exception. The Mututsi says: "Kumana (God be with you)."

Similarly, when they give thanks for a present, they say: "ulakarama, ulakahora n'Imana (live, meet Imana)."

In Mulera an older farewell seems to have been preserved which is said to occur in Nduga only in songs. The Mulera says: "Mahoro (peace be with you)." The returning traveler is greeted in a similar manner: "Waje mahoro (peace attends your coming)."

576 Finally, the person of higher rank always greets an inferior
554 first to show the latter that he has been noticed and is granted this

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554 attention. Also, in contrast to our forms of etiquette, it is customary for the one who pours a drink, be it milk, beer, or even water, always to drink first, even though he is usually of a [125] lower social rank than the one for whom the drink is poured. This custom is easily explained: the one who proffers the drink must prove that it is good, that is to say, not poisoned.

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805 The Mututsi also shows his high regard for the cow in the words for the time of day and the position of the sun. Early morning is expressed by inka zili munama, "the cows have been let out of the kraal." About eight o'clock in the morning is inka zahahutse, "the cows have gone to graze." At noon he says: "inka zishooka (the cows have gone to drink)." Inka zitaha, "the cows are returning," means that it is about six o'clock in the evening. Inka zikamwa, "the cows are being milked," means that it is between seven and eight in the evening.

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192 The Batutsi use special terms to indicate the size of their herds.

Mfite kanyana, "I have a calf," means a small herd of not more than 10 head.

Mfite akaka, "I have a small cow," means a herd of 30 to 60 head.

Mfite inka imwe or mfite inka, "I have a cow," means several herds.

[556] If you say of a person that he has many cows, you are using a general expression meaning he is very influential and rich.

231 All the Mututsi's interests are bound up with the cow. Once when Ishirangabo, the brother of the present king, who conducted Count Von Götzen through Ruanda, visited Father L. Classe and me, he said: "Kireka umwami, inka zihuta byose (the cow is more important than anything except the king)."

The hope of obtaining a cow from the king, the chief, or a well-to-do man makes the Mututsi a willing client, eager to please his chosen master.

The most insignificant man who puts himself at the service of someone a little more influential hopes not to be forgotten when, on occasion, his master is given a cow.

231 556 Even the great chiefs flatter the king in the hope of enlarging their herds. On every occasion they repeat the time-honored phrase: "You can never have enough cows," which in our capitalistic society is tantamount to saying: "You can never have enough money."

576 231 If a man enters the service of another man, he introduces himself quite simply with the phrase, "naje kukusaba amata," "I come to get milk," or "umpe amata, unkize," "give me milk, heal me."

[126] In polite discourse it is customary to address a person as a bestower of cattle or gratefully to remind him of a previous gift of a cow.

[534] If a man of higher social rank stumbles as he walks, his attendants say: "humura, wampaye inká (calm yourself, you who have given me a cow)." This may not be literally true, but it emphasizes the man's higher rank.

609 Among themselves the Batutsi speak of the Europeans as gituku, "the red ones." It is interesting to note that the Abyssinians call themselves "the red ones" in contrast to white Europeans and black Negroes whom they do not esteem very highly (1).

1. According to a verbal report by the Russian Embassy physician in Addis Ababa, Dr. A. Kochanowski.

In Ruanda the word bazungu refers to the colored retinue of Europeans, their servants and soldiers. Thus, when my donkey boy detoured around our camp which was on a hill and took a lower road, I was told: "muzungu aise epfo," meaning "muzungu passed by down below."

609 262 186 The Batutsi have absolutely no reason for welcoming Europeans with warmth and enthusiasm. At the very least their comfort is disturbed by the intruders. For this reason they sometimes make very unflattering remarks about them. The Europeans' chief offense is that they are not fastidious about their diet. In contrast to local custom, they eat everything; in fact, like the despised Batwa, they do not even scorn eggs and chickens, which the Mututsi finds disgusting. Thus, Europeans and their retinues are given the scornful epithets mpyesi, "hyenas," and bikoko or bisumba, "wild beasts."

442 have a sharp, chisel-like blade (igembe) which fans out at the cutting end. Its narrower part (intereri) fits into the hole (intoboro) at the thick end (impumo) of the handle (omuhini). The bush knife is entirely forged out of iron. The upper third is wide and has one sharp cutting edge (lulimi). The upper half (isatuliro) of this third is bent like a sickle and comes to a point. The remaining two thirds is round. The lower third is driven into a wooden [140] handle (kilindi) that is slightly thicker at the lower end and reinforced above with wire or smoothly forged iron.

313 372 As a result of the extensive deforestation, the lumber shortage is a very important economic problem. In some places wood must be brought in from long distances. In the northeast where wood is hard to come by, dried cow dung is used for fuel.

2445 197 Under the influence of Catholic missions the natives have begun to plant trees. Moreover, outside the missions' sphere of influence I saw new plantings of mussavi in Ruangeri on the road to Kisenyi, four and a half hours from Ruasa.

● 231 Animal Husbandry. The inhabitants of Ruanda keep cows, goats, sheep, chickens, and dogs. Stockraising plays an important role in the economic and political life. Cattle farming is almost exclusively the [141] occupation of the ruling Batutsi. Sheep and especially goats are raised chiefly by the agricultural Bahutu. It is only in Mulera and Bugoye that the Bahutu commonly have cows. The animals are cared for by the men. Out in the pasture, however, one sometimes sees a girl tending a cow or a small herd of goats.

231 554 Cattle raising is considered the most distinguished occupation a man can have. This phenomenon is explained by the superior social position of the Batutsi. "In Uganda, where cattle raising is despised, it is almost impossible to persuade a Waganda [Ganda] to go into it." (1)

[113]

1. Wilson, C.T., and Felkin, R. W., Uganda und der Ägyptische Sudan [Uganda and the Egyptian Sudan] (Stuttgart, 1883), Vol. I, p. 67.

231 In the herdsman aristocracy of Ruanda the Muhutu must always yield to the cow. Cows have crowded out the Bahutu in certain parts of Ufumbiro, and they definitely eliminated the farmers from Mulera's lava plain. They depopulated the region around Nyanza. We can say, therefore, that cows are a powerful factor in shaping the landscape of Ruanda..

231 437 Transactions involving the cow play a very important part in economic life and judicial practices in Ruanda. These transactions take many forms.

[144] There is the simple sale where the price is paid at once or in installments (in goats). I also learned of another type of sale. The owner of two young bulls exchanges them for the unborn calf of a certain cow. If the calf is born a male, they wait for the next one. This transaction is known as kwatiriza. In kwatiriza, the milk, after the first two months during which the herdsman gets it, is divided between the buyer of the calf and the owner of the cow. However, there are often arrangements whereby half or even all the milk is simply bought up by someone.

Cows are for sale only in Mulera where they belong to Bahutu. Batutsi sell only young bulls. Calving cows are under no circumstances disposed of; they are only granted in feudal tenure. Even large bulls (mfizi) are not sold. I was repeatedly told that they cannot even be granted.

231 Goats are raised everywhere by the Bahutu. In the northwest sheep are raised in large numbers. I was presented with my first sheep on the route between Nyanza and Mulera, at the Nyawarongo ferry. One sees individual sheep everywhere. They are used for sacrificial purposes.

232 In this discussion of animal husbandry we must say a word about castration. This operation is familiar to the people of Ruanda and is performed chiefly on goats. It is said that the castration of cattle is forbidden by the king, but it is rumored that the cows one is forced to return are secretly cauterized in revenge. Hunting dogs are also castrated. It is said, too, that enemies of [304] the king are castrated.

224 Hunting. Hunting as the chief means of obtaining food is practiced only by the Batwa. They live on the yield of the hunt,

224 are organized at the beginning of the rainy season.

Elephant hunters work in small groups and use a spear. The following is the procedure when an elephant herd or a single old bull is sighted. At a carefully chosen place the spears are planted obliquely into the ground, their points directed toward the elephants. The hunters conceal themselves, with the exception of one who must go after a certain elephant. If the irritated animal attacks the hunter, the latter flees in the direction of the spears, so that the charging elephant will ram into one of them. The wounded animal is then attacked from the rear by the hunters in ambush. Elephant meat is said to be eaten in Kissaka. The mutware gets a tusk. Elephants are found chiefly in Bugansa, north of Kissaka.

Aside from drives and the use of decoys, wild game is also hunted with traps and trap pits. The traps consist of a snare lying on the ground and fastened at one end to a young tree bent to the ground. When the animal runs against the snare, the tree straightens out, draws the snare taut, and lifts the animal by its neck or a leg. The pits are carefully covered with foliage, and the captured animals are killed with spears and then divided up.

223 Birds are caught with slings, but they are also shot with bird arrows which are dull or have four points. Partridges are said to be pursued on foot and killed with a stick after the birds are exhausted.

224 In Mulera where hunters are very skillful, probably due to Batwa influence, [146] a great many otters are speared. They use a spear with a barbed head and a broadened end, which is said to be used also in hunting hippopotamuses. The hippopotamus hunters try to creep up on their prey in small boats, a very dangerous but also very much admired sport.

231 [552] Hunting dogs are greatly loved in Ruanda and kept in great numbers. Every chief has a rather large number of them. The dogs are called by special names. I realized how fond they were of their dogs once when the porters of our returning supply caravan stole a small dog. Its owner did not hesitate to follow my column on its westerly march for three or four hours and across two lakes, hoping that the porters would run into my column and that, with the help of a European, he would get back his property. This

231 proved to be the case. I was told that work ceases for a day after a [628] dog's death, and that on occasion blood revenge is exacted for the killing of a dog. The Banyaruanda maintain that a person kills a dog because he would really like to kill its master but does not dare.

The number of dogs kept in Ruanda is very large, and for this reason the porters returning to Lake Victoria took a number of dogs with them. A returning caravan of 200 porters which I met in Kissaka had at least 60 dogs. Several of them were quite young and had to be carried on the porters' backs for the two to three weeks' trip. One can scarcely show greater proof of affection.

231 534 Since the dogs generally do not bark, they are not often used as watch dogs. They usually wear small wooden or iron bells around their necks, dedicated to Ryangombe [a supernatural being] (insogera ya Ryangombe). Similar bells are tied around the necks of sheep and goats.

The iron bells commonly consist of two small, thin sheets of metal bent together, with a narrow, rounded slit at each end. Between the two sheets is a hollow space containing a small pellet large enough so that it cannot fall out through the slit. A string [147] is threaded

Fig. 35. Dog Bell from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13704. 6 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 36. Dog Bell from Ufumbiro, Batwa. 1/4 actual size. III E 6897. 10 1/2 centimeters long.)

through two small holes in the bell and tied to the collar. Captain W. Von Grawert found an entirely different bell among the Batwa of Ufumbiro. It consists of a narrow, triangular piece of sheet iron, the two lower ends of which are bent to form a cylinder. The tip is hammered thin and bent down, and on it hangs the clapper.

6: Czekanowski--33 E-5 (1907-1909) 1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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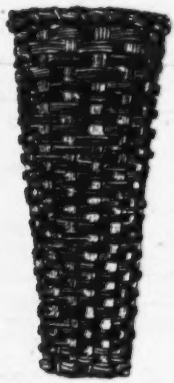

[413]

Fig. 37. Beehive from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13680. 80 centimeters long.)

Fig. 38. Honey Knife from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13738. 28 centimeters long.)

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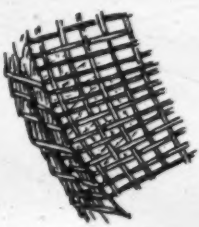

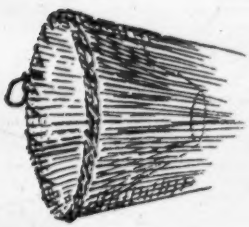

Fig. 39. Fish Traps from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13743. 65 centimeters long.)

hammered thin and bent down, and on it hangs the clapper.

231 [273] Beekeeping. Bee culture plays a considerable role in Ruanda life. A great deal of honey is drunk; it is used as an additive to beer and is also mixed with water.

Bees are kept in baskets that are nearly cylindrical (imbutiba) and daubed with clay. At the bottom there are two small exits for the bees. The wider end provides an entrance for lifting out the honey, but otherwise it is closed off. Special long-handled [143] knives (ulukezo) with short, wide blades are used to cut out the combs. The baskets are generally set up in large numbers on tall trees where they will be dry, but they are also set horizontally on special frames that have crossed legs. These frames are placed on the ground near the huts. There are also many wild bees in the country.

The province of Mulera has the greatest number of bees. In [435] Bgisha a great deal of honey is sold. The price was two yards of material for two pots of about three liters each.

226 Fishing. The population near the lakes of Ruanda are fisherfolk. Net fishing is called kuteguza ifi. The various nets are called ujegwi, chera, and amahinda. The fish traps are called birumbi. They consist of a long cone into which is placed a second shorter one with its point cut off. The two are fastened together at their thicker basal ends. [148] There is little line fishing, but the fishhook is not unknown, although one does not see it very often.

501 The boats are simple dugouts about five meters long and 50 centimeters wide. They are very irregularly shaped, since the natural curve of the tree trunk is retained. The dugouts used on Lake Kivu are considerably larger. In Ruanda the sides of the boat are not built up by the addition of planks as is the case, for example, in Kiziba and Buganda. The boat's board formed by the edges of the hollowed-out trunk is higher or lower depending on the width or narrowness of the slit.

The oars (ngashi) are often carefully carved, and the blade (ulubega) is reinforced with a center rib (mugongo). The oars are free and held in the hand by the shaft (ulati).

614 the clan and can be disposed of only after the common interest
623 has been considerable. These are the conditions that exist where the clans have not been subjugated and dispossessed by their conquerors.

As a result of conquest, the land falls into the possession
[643] of the king and is granted to the subjects in his name by the chief he has appointed. Under such conditions, there can be no question of voluntary disposal of this land.

556 The wealth of the individual is not measured by the size of
231 the fields he lays claim to, but solely by the number of cattle he owns. With a largely undifferentiated social organization and poor communication routes, the free sale of field products is slight. These products must serve almost exclusively to satisfy the needs of the producer. Moreover, in many parts of Ruanda there is still such a reserve of free land that its value is relatively low, and the monopolizing of this form of property by the privileged class becomes only a secondary means of social discipline.

Power can be much more easily exercised in Ruanda by a monopoly of cattle ownership. That is why the Batutsi are trying to get the ownership of cattle wholly in their hands and make individuals subservient to them by granting them cows and permitting them to share the milk.

Following this principle of rule which is most natural for herdsmen, the Batutsi, when they conquered Bugoye, punished the farmers only slightly; the clans were merely taxed. The Mugoye, however, must drive his cows into the woods and have them tended there when they no longer give milk and the household can do without them. Although the cow [250] could be pastured near his dwelling, he would rather take the risk of having the herder run off with his property than arouse the greed of the mighty, since this might lead to expropriation.

614 In conclusion we shall give some data about the property and
621 the members of the three clan communities of Baishaza, Bahoma,
592 and Bagwabiro, who live on the hills of Katebe and Kitebe near
423 Nyundo. I obtained these figures by actual count in the field.
231 [251] This brief compilation gives us a good idea of how the clan communities are constructed and what they own. In this list only heads of families were consecutively numbered; their

6:Czekanowski--170 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Baishaza of Katebe

No.	Name	Clan	Clan Members	Sons	Married Daughters	Unmarried Daughters	Wives	Bagaragu	Cows	Goats	Sheep	Fields	Banana Groves	
1.	Ndiramiye	Mwishaza	1	—	2	—	1	—	1/2	—	—	2	—	„mugabo"
	Nikora	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Sebisogo	Muzogera	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
2.	Seramunda	Mwishaza	1	4	—	1	2	1	3 4/5	5	2	3	1	
	Marceli	„	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Semivombi	„	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
3.	Ndereye	„	1	2	2	—	1	1	1/2	4	4	6	3	
	Donati	„	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Semajeri	Mwambari	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Semilyangu	Muvuna	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Katutsi	Mukwa	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Ndegeya	Mwichozi	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Banitogega	Mukora	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
4.	Mukuri	Mwishaza	1	1	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	4	1	
	Kolombani	„	1	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	2	—	
	Otto	„	1	—	—	—	1	—	1/2	2	—	2	—	
5.	Mpabuka	„	1	2	1	—	1	—	—	3	2	outside		
	Sebichikira	„	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
6.	Matayo	Muhuma	1	—	—	—	2	—	1 1/2	7	12	1	1	Son-in-law of No. 9.
	Bisaga	Mushobio	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Nyira Majoro	Muhuma	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Nyira Kimonjo	Mukara	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
7.	Gukuru	Mwishaza	1	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	
8.	Marobi	„	1	1	3	2	1	—	1	4	4	1	—	Day laborer for board
	Ndamwete	„	1	—	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
9.	Sebutama	„	1	2	1	—	1	—	1	2	2	4	1	
10.	Gafene	„	1	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
11.	Senguri	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	3/4	1	—	4	2	Field of No.1
12.	Mafara	Munyabgiaha	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	2	2	—	Son-in-law
	Birere	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	Brother of No.12
13.	Ndungutsi	Mwishaza	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	Field of No.1
14.	Bukara	„	1	1	2	—	2	—	—	2	—	2	—	
	Antigoni	„	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Filipo	„	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	2	—	
15.	Segihobi	„	1	1	—	—	2	—	—	3	—	2	—	Children of vagrant wife
16.	Nderiwamunda	„	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
17.	Bihwehwe	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	4	2	
18.	Gihigwa	„	1	1	2	1	—	—	—	3	—	2	1	
			1	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	
			27	22	11	16	30	9	9 3/10	41	28	45	12	104 persons 1)

midwives

1) Among them 47 male clan members and two sons-in-law.

6: Czekanowski --171 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Bahoma of Kitebe (Balyolyo Branch)

No.	Name	Clan	Clan Members	Sons	Married Daughters	Unmarried Daughters	Wives	Bagaragu	Cows plus	Bulls	Goats	Sheep	Fields	Banana Groves	
1.	Rugira	Mulyolyo	1	2	—	3	4	—	$2^{1}/_{4}+1$	3	4	3	1		„mugabo"
	Sebishimbo	Mudahe	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
2.	Dominiko	Mulyolyo	1	1	—	1	1	—	$^{1}/_{8}$	2	2	2	—		
	Budjodjwe	Mugai	—	—	—	—	—	1	$3^{1}/_{8}+1$	—	—	—	—		
3.	Rukara	Mulyolyo	1	—	3	1	1	—	—	5	—	3	1		
	Muchuchu	Murashi	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Birikunzira	Munyakaru	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Rusigari	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
4.	Faro	Mulyolyo	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	—	2	—		
	Sanzibarose	Mwambari	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
5.	Rudjanju	Mulyolyo	1	3	—	3	2	—	$2^{3}/_{4}+1$	4	4	4	1		
	Mabgiri	Muhanuka	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Karbagoye	Mutembe	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
6.	Sedigi	Mulyolyo	1	1	—	—	1	—	$2+^{1}/_{8}$	2	2	4	1		
7.	Bihire	„	1	2	3	—	2	—	—	1	—	5	1		
8.	Baihaki	„	1	—	—	3	1	—	—	—	—	2	—		
9.	Ishaho	„	1	1	—	1	2	—	$2+^{1}/_{8}$	3	—	3	1		
	Mwiza	„	—	—	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—		
10.	Patris	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	2	1		
			10	11	6	14	17	9	$12^{3}/_{8}+4$	22	12	30	7	61	persons 1)

Bagwabiro of Kitebe

1.	Mwuyekure	Mugwabiro	1	2	1	1	3	—	$^{1}/_{8}$	5	2	4	1		„mugabo"
2.	Maliro	„	1	5	—	1	2	—	—	5	4	4	1		
3.	Semiteza	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	1	1	3	1		
4.	Mabembe	„	1	1	2	1	4	—	4	5	—	8	1		
	Karisti	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Kichondo	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
5.	Bidjari	„	1	2	—	—	2	—	1	6	—	10	1		
6.	Sekini	„	1	2	—	—	1	—	1	3	—	3	1		
7.	Sebihumira	„	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	$^{1}/_{2}$	—	4	1		
			7	14	3	4	14	2	$6^{1}/_{8}$	$25^{1}/_{2}$	7	36	7	41	persons 2)

1) Among them 21 male clan members.

2) Among them 21 male clan members.

614 grown sons are listed below them, and this shows that the average
621 size of a family with its servants is about six persons, three or four
592 of which occupy one hut. The number of huts is almost identical
423 with the number of women. It is very important to note that the
231 head of the Baishaza clan community, the mugabo, Ndiramiye, is
● one of the poorest farmers on Katebe.

[252] Chapter 12

King and State

643 The King. The power of the king is the active factor in the
614 formation of the state in Ruanda which has influenced the passive
178 factor, clan organization. The entire state is nothing more than
642 the overgrown household of the king, into which all the Batutsi clans were first drawn and then absorbed. As the imperial household grew, the Bahutu clans were likewise drawn into its sphere of influence. They underwent a process of disintegration and differentiation which is still going on. In fact, in the northern part of Ruanda the process is still in its beginning stages.

644 In speaking of the clan communities of Katebe and Kitebe in Bugoye, we mentioned the bagaragu (clients) who come from another district and attach themselves to the powerful in order to serve them and to get their living from them. Some among these hope to be granted a goat or even a cow. Among the clan elders, for example, Lukara, who enjoyed great influence in his clan, the number of these clients was large. He granted them parcels of land on which they could settle under his protection. The same thing goes on in the court of the king, with some modification and on a far greater scale. The king's bagaragu are not poor devils who have been exiled, but influential people with large retinues who in
642 turn have dependents and subdependents. In this respect the Ruanda state is a pyramid with the king at the head and the free farm population without property at its base. In between are the high chiefs with their subchiefs as the organizing element that keeps the population in check.

643 Juhi Musinga, the ruler of Ruanda, was without doubt the most
648 powerful of the native potentates whom I had an opportunity to see

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

634 the district chiefs formed the council of the king. The court
[693] was under the direction of a special man, a kind of steward or *inhebe*.

The district chiefs were also responsible for building and other work for the king and the state; they had to find the necessary workmen and appoint overseers to direct them. Another man of the king acted as a kind of household steward to see that the buildings were kept in repair and properly attended to.

Each district chief appointed chiefs of the second rank or *Ibisonga* in his own district, and they in their turn appointed the chiefs of the third grade or *Abafragizu*. Each district chief also appointed a steward or *inhebe* who acted in his place when he had to be absent from his district. This man always possessed land near his chief so that he might be at hand when he was wanted. His special duty was to take charge of any building for the chief.

Taxation

634 Every year a district chief had to bring two or three
651 hundred large pots of honey, each holding some two gallons, and a supply of millet, peas, and beans to the king. This was brought to the district chief by the people on his estate, and he took a portion for himself before passing the required amount on to the king.

[231] Twice in the year each person with cattle gave to the king a cow and a calf to supply him with milk and a fat animal to be killed for his meat. Milk was also sent daily to the court for the use of the king and his household.

Murder

682 It was the duty of the relatives of a murdered man to hunt
628 down and capture the murderer and put him to death; they rarely accepted any other settlement. If a murder was committed before witnesses, they would seize the murderer and hand him over to the relatives of the dead man. If, however, one man abused another before witnesses, the offended man

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

and his council was composed of the high chiefs. He imposed taxation of honey, millet, peas, beans, cattle, and milk, and the chiefs were responsible for any building or other state work he required.

The king's first meal in the morning was of milk, which he took either fresh or clotted as he preferred. At noon he generally drank beer, but he took no other food until evening, when he had meat with peas, beans, or millet porridge, but he might never eat sweet potatoes. After this meal he drank either beer or milk, which shows that the people were abandoning the strict rules of the milk diet which would have forbidden his drinking milk immediately after eating meat and vegetables. During the night he was roused and offered milk to drink. The favourite wife waited upon him and ate with him, and special boy attendants ate any meat that was left over from his meal.

The king married as many wives as he wished, suitable girls being added to his harem as they were found. The favourite of the moment was treated as the chief wife. These women were continually consulting medicine-men and priests, who told them whether they were going to bear children and took auguries to decide who would be the mother of the future king. The king often chose a prince to succeed him, and when he grew up informed him of his future and made him a partner with him on the throne. The other princes were sent to govern different parts of the country as chiefs.

When the king felt that he was seriously ill, he ended his life by taking poison. When he died the news was circulated over the country. There was no rule against naming the king after his death nor against saying that he was dead. The whole tribe shaved their heads and all men kept apart from women during the two months of mourning. The males of cows, goats, and sheep were also separated from their females for this time, and the udders of cows, after milking, were smeared with ashes instead of with white clay as was usual at other times. One cow was killed when the king died.

A certain district was reserved for the burial of the kings,

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

Meat was always cut from the bones before being served, and the bones were given to the servants or to peasants. Men sometimes ate with their families, but almost always they ate alone and in secret, and even the food that was left over from their meal might not be seen, for should there chance to be bones amongst it, the man was laughed at and made fun of by those who saw it. It was the duty of a man's wife to cut up the meat and remove all bones. If a friend paid a visit he might partake of a meal only if he was with his host from the beginning of it; if he arrived during the meal he was not permitted to approach. The rules of hospitality were very strict, and even a poor person of the same clan would be invited to share a man's meal, while the richest member of one of the despised clans would never be allowed to do so. Among the better classes the cooks were men, but among poor people women cooked for their husbands.

There were no special rules about fire; but it was always preferable to obtain it from some other fire, and only if this was impossible would they use fire-sticks to kindle it.

THE CATTLE

The people were largely agricultural, but cows were looked upon as their wealth and they kept large herds, some running even into thousands; while a man who was considered only moderately rich would have four or five hundred.

The people, because of their agricultural pursuits, had fixed dwellings, but the herdsmen wandered about with the cows for pasture. The cattle were of mixed types, some short-horned and some long-horned; they were divided into herds of two to four hundred, each herd being under the care of a head-man and twelve or more others. They roamed the pasture lands two or three months at a time without returning home, sleeping in grass huts hastily erected, while the cattle were left in the open without fences. The calves were kept in the huts and their presence prevented the cows from straying, while a watch was kept to protect them from wild animals. The men stayed only a few days in each place. The wives of the herdsmen lived

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

233 in the villages near their fields; but they had to bring food daily to the place where their husbands were, for even the herdsmen did not live entirely upon milk. Cattle were never kept inside the fences enclosing the dwellings of the king or other owners, but the herdsmen had to bring milk after each milking to the owner of the herd even if the cattle were at some distance.

[422] The men regarded their cows as their own and might sell or exchange them as they thought fit, but the king claimed all the cattle in the country and might take any he wanted from any herd. The value of a cow was twenty goats and of [435] a bull fifteen goats, while a goat was valued at five hoes. A woman who had been captured in war might be restored to [727] her tribe for a payment of three cows for a woman of the better class and six goats for a peasant.

233 When a cow was thought to be about to calve at an incon-825 venient time during a journey or while grazing at such a distance that the calf would have to be carried home, the herdsmen tied a little grass round its horns close to the head and this was said to retard the birth. When a cow which had calved did not cast the after-birth, the first milk was placed upon a stool for a time and then poured away. If the cow recovered without parting with the after-birth, the owner might not drink the milk from it but left it to the herdsmen until the cow had another calf and the placenta came away. For fourteen days after a cow calved, the milk was drunk by the herdsmen or by children and not by the owner of the cow. [784] No taboo was attached to the navel cord of calves.

231 Goats were preferred to sheep, but both were reared in 437 large numbers, not so much for meat as in order to exchange them for cows and other necessary articles. Most men also [651] kept bees, for honey was demanded as a tax by the king and [237] was an article of food among all classes. A large pot of honey with the comb was sold for a goat, and a small pot of refined honey for two hoes.

AGRICULTURE

241 Each wife possessed a plot of land on which she raised crops to supply the family with food. Among the better classes the

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

April. Tillage of fallow-land in preparation for potato planting next month. Planting of yams, gourds.

May and first half of June. Second tillage of sorghum fields. Beans were weeded. Potatoes were planted. Banana groves were cleared of grass. Cassava planted on hill-tops was gathered.

Long dry season

June, second part. Sweet potatoes and cassava planted in the bottom of valleys. Granaries were stocked.

July. Harvesting of beans, sorghum, maize.

August. Tillage of soil.

September. Tillage went on. At the end of the month there could be an early sowing of beans.[20]

In agricultural tasks, there was no specialization by sex. Men and women worked together in the fields. Although to a large extent the Hutu culture was permeated by the Tutsi scale of values, they did not share the noblemen's disdain for agricultural work. Their ideal type of successful man was that of a rich and hard-working peasant. They were proud of such a reputation when they achieved it, although they recognized that the status of a powerful Tutsi was much higher. But it belonged to another order practically closed to them. In a hierarchical society, certain ideal types may embody values that are for a lower stratum at the same time supreme but not sought after.

Cattle were never reared for their meat in Ruanda. The Tutsi and Hutu appreciated meat very much, but cattle were not usually slaughtered just to be eaten, except occasionally as when a barren cow was getting old. But the contribution of cattle to the diet was great: milk and butter were the food *par excellence* for Tutsi noblemen. The Hutu also liked dairy products very much, but a good supply of them required a larger number of cows than a Hutu would normally possess. Only cows feeding calves were milked. During the dry season their production was very low. In recent years, the average milk production was only from 1 to 1·5 litres a day (from about 1¾ pints to 2¼ pints) including that taken by the calf. Hides were formerly used for clothing purposes.

As may be expected in a society dominated by pastoralists, livestock was a major focus of interest in Ruanda culture. Its importance in the political structure—which will be considered

[20] See Schumacher, 1942 and Eversertz, 1947, pp. 61-69.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

later on—adds still further to its interest. There was a very elaborate series of prescriptions and taboos concerning the care of cattle, and a very full terminology which took into account the differences in colour of skin, in shape and length of horns, and in origin of possession or ownership, &c.[21] According to experts, Ruanda empirical knowledge of cattle-rearing was quite good.

In this field there was a very strict division of labour by sex. Cattle could be cared for only by men. This restriction was based on magical beliefs regarding impurity, as females before puberty and after menopause were permitted to take care of the livestock. The strictest prohibitions were on women in their menstruating periods. Hutu were not excluded from cattle rearing, and in fact most of the menial tasks were performed by Hutu servants or clients.

The Tutsi were not nomadic pastoralists. Cattle moved according to the seasons from valleys to hills, but usually in the same area. It might happen, however, that when the drought was particularly severe herds had to be led to another area which might be some distance away. But this did not imply any change of residence for the owners of the cattle which were accompanied only by shepherds.

When in October grass began to grow again, the cows were lean and starving. As they recovered strength on new grass, their milk came back. In November rains were sufficient to allow grazing on the hills. Flies were myriad in December. Then the short dry season began. In January, however, there was still too much water in the valleys for cattle to pasture there, and they stayed in kraals, near huts. In February and March they went out again on to the hills. With the rains flies came again. Milk output increased. In April pastures reserved for the dry season were closed. At the beginning of the dry season (end of May, beginning of June) milk diminished as the grass dried up, and grazing was confined to the valleys. July was not a bad month because cows could pasture on the harvested fields. Flies disappeared in the dry season. August and September were the two worst months for cattle.[22]

Sheep and goats were also kept for their skin and their milk. The Hutu ate goat-flesh but mutton was ritually forbidden. Even today it arouses a very marked repugnance and only the shameless Twa will eat it.

[21] Cf. Vanhove, 1941, pp. 46-59. [22] Schumacher, 1942.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

On top of this men might add a goat skin and women a piece of cow-hide in which they eventually carried their babies on their backs. Before the Europeans came, important Tutsi had already for some time replaced the traditional cow-hide of the pastoralists or the bark-cloth borrowed from the agricultural group with large cotton cloths, white or light coloured, elegantly draped. The Tutsi wore two, one as a kind of long, narrow skirt, and the other flowing and tied on the shoulders. Both men and women wore them in this way. These goods were imported by African traders coming from the east where they bought them from Arab merchants. Up to their marriage Tutsi girls wore only a very short loin-cloth made of cow-hide.

Tutsi men had their hair cut in such a way as to leave a few tufts shaped according to a traditional and extremely elegant pattern (*amasunzu*). Unmarried girls, Hutu as well as Tutsi, had their hair cut the same way. The heads of Hutu men and Hutu and Tutsi women were shaved. Necklaces and bracelets in white, blue, and red beadwork were favourite ornaments. There were no artificial bodily deformations such as flattening of the head, chipping of teeth or circumcision. Everybody went barefooted.

The dwelling unit was a compound (*rugo*) consisting of at least three huts, each almost always situated in a circular enclosure intersecting and communicating with the other enclosures of the compound. Huts were of the beehive type usual among the interlacustrine peoples, made of reed and grass. There was a 'bed-sitting' hut (*kambere*), another, where pots, baskets, &c. were kept (*kigonii*), and a kitchen (*kagondo*). Hutu boys and girls under the age of puberty slept in the kitchen if there was no special hut for them. In addition there were granaries, and the small hut devoted to the ancestral spirits, &c. The circular fences were ficus hedges, much higher than a man. This pattern of combined circular fences made possible an almost unlimited extension of the compound without its losing its compactness. Indeed, compounds of rich Tutsi constituted a kind of intricate labyrinth in which it was easy to lose one's way. Whatever the number of enclosures, there was only one narrow communication with the outside world. The open enclosed area might be very large and was used as a kraal in which cattle spent the night during certain periods of the year at least. There was no difference of pattern between Hutu

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

cross and parallel cousins. Lévi-Strauss's crucial assertion that parallel and cross-cousins 'from the point of view of the degree of biological proximity are strictly interchangeable',[11] would not be considered true by the Ruanda. For them any paternal cousin is *biologically* much closer than a paternal cross-cousin. The former, so to speak, originates from the same seeds as Ego, those of a common grandfather, whereas the latter comes from other seeds. This should be a relevant argument in the discussion of Lévi-Strauss's theory, since surely what matters here is not the biological conceptions of the anthropologist but those of the society which in this case differentiates parallel from cross-cousins.

Many characteristics of individuals were thought to be innate, a view coherent with the ideology of a caste society. Features were expected to be similar to those of the father (and, our informants say, this was the only way to be sure of who was the genitor). The complexion was supposed to be inherited from the mother. Psychological traits and temperament were said to come from the father, particularly in the case of his sons. Daughters were often regarded as more similar to their mothers.

The birth of a child was nearly always welcomed by a married woman, even if she were actually divorced. The only exception was in the case of twins of different sexes. This was regarded as caused by a particular intervention of Imana and as a sign of ill-luck. The diviner had to be consulted about it and often the only way to escape the evil consequences was to let one of the twins, usually the boy, die. If such a thing happened to cattle, the steer had to be killed. But a newly born baby was never unwanted. On the contrary, when it was not very clear to what group he belonged, the child was usually claimed by more than one.

The general rules were as follows: the husband was the pater of any child borne by his wife. The genitor had no right over the child even if he had been conceived in such circumstances as for instance during a very long absence of the husband in which there was no doubt about the genitor. A child borne by a divorced woman belonged to her father's inzu, though the genitor could pay a 'child-wealth' and have the child. This did not mean that he married the woman; he was redeeming the child from those who had rights in the mother's fertility. A genitor who was a married man could pay the child-wealth as well as a bachelor. If the

[11] Lévi-Strauss, 1949, p. 156.